

LABOR MAGAZINE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

A Robber Tariff

Coleman B. Cheney

Recreation for Unity

How German Labor Does It

Ed Falkowski

Independent Political Action

—YES, BUT WHAT KIND?

A. J. Muste

Bread Line Prosperity

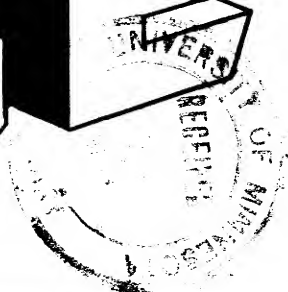
William Ross

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE—THE NEXT STEP

JUNE, 1930

25 CENTS

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IN THIS ISSUE

THOUGH summer lends wings to the "out-of-works" and the "down-and-outers," scattering the army of the jobless from their winter's concentration camps in industrial centers, the problem of the unemployed still remains and is almost as keen today as it was last March. While the issue no longer dangles on front page headlines, it still remains rankling in the stomachs of those seeking the wherewithal of existence. They are still numbered in the millions. Who these "luckless" persons are and what they are thinking of are important questions for consideration. In "Bread Line Prosperity" William Ross, who readers of LABOR AGE will recall, had quite a hand in the Marion, N. C., strike last autumn, gives a series of sentence biographies of those who follow the "hungry trail." It was Ross's job during the past months to interview the victims on the bread line, America's unique institution, working with Heywood Broun in that columnist's whimsical effort to "Give a Job Till June."

GRUNDY, defeated in the Pennsylvania primaries for the United States Senate, will still cast a shadow across the well-being of American masses by that billion dollar tariff with which Congress is now wrestling. Labor has also been caught by the ballyhoo of "protection for prosperity" and has been peddling that gold brick in its own way among its own people. That the present tariff will benefit no one but a very small group of industrialists who are not satisfied with the lower profits of open competition is now conceded by every intelligent citizen. "A Robber Tariff," written by Coleman B. Cheney, Professor of Economics of Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, New York, exposes the false reasoning of the

high protectionists and equally false slogan that higher tariffs mean higher wages.

RECREATION for Unity," is a story of the cultural activities of the workers comprising the German Labor Movement. Ed Falkowski, the author, an American coal miner, sojourned in Germany after graduating from Brookwood Labor College several years ago and spent a number of years working in the coal pits, participating in the work of the German trade unions and studying the general Labor Movement of that country. In his article he shows how labor, though divided on the political and industrial fields, achieves a united psychology through its recreational features.

WHILE movements of various kinds are on foot for the building of a third party, certain fundamentals must not be forgotten if these efforts are to culminate into anything more lasting than flashes-in-the-pan, such as characterized the political uprising in 1912, when Theodore Roosevelt momentarily led the hosts to battle at Armageddon. A. J. Muste says, "Independent Political Action—Yes, But What Kind?", when analyzing in this issue the steps necessary to build a permanent Labor Party.

UNEMPLOYMENT no longer passes with the seasons nor with the upward swing of industrial depressions but is today a permanent phenomenon in our industrial life. What the Conference for Progressive Labor Action proposes to do about it is told in: "Unemployment Insurance—The Next Step."

KEEP moving" is a well known phrase to those who picket for the union. Rosa Pesotta, a garment worker, member of the I. L. G. W. U. and Brookwood graduate, vividly records one incident on a picket line that had an unusual ending in "It Happens But Once."

INDIA, naturally, assumes the prominent place in any discussion of foreign news. Whether the British Labor Government is right or wrong in its methods of dealing with India's desire for independence is a matter of hot controversy. In "In Other Lands," Patrick J. Quinlan, labor organizer, officer of the Associated Silk Workers and always close, both by birth and inclination, to the historical trends in the British Empire, devotes most of the space in that department to the latest developments on the Indian front.

WHY is Leon Trotsky in Prinkipo? The best answer is in Trotsky's story of his own life which is here reviewed under the title "Victim of Permanent Revolution." Other reviews are included in "Say It With Books."

FLASHES from the Labor World," "The March of the Machine," and "What Our Readers Think," conclude this issue.

· LABOR · AGE ·

June, 1930

EDITORIALS

CRITICISM and applause, equally violent, greeted a recent statement of the C. P. L. A. about India and the British Labor Party. The statement took the Mc-

For Indian Independence

Donald government to task for not having worked out an independent and courageous labor approach to the Indian situation and for jailing and shooting Indians who are revolting against British imperialism. LABOR AGE finds nothing in subsequent developments to warrant any change in the C. P. L. A. attitude in this controversy.

Admittedly the McDonald government is in a ticklish position. If it fails to maintain order in India even at the cost of suppressing both violent and non-violent movements for independence, it will be subjected to vigorous Tory criticism and may be kicked out of office. But the British Labor Party pledged itself to advance Indian independence, and a Labor and Socialist Party is going back on its most fundamental principles when it resorts to violent measures to maintain imperialist control over a foreign people. Under the circumstances, would it not be much better for the McDonald government to work out a way of granting dominion status or independence without reservations and if Parliament will not accept this, resign and leave it to the Tories, who honestly believe in imperialism, to jail and shoot Indians?

A. Fenner Brockway, in the front of the Independent Labor Party, who was himself born in India and has vast knowledge of Indian affairs, advocates an immediate declaration that it is the policy of the British government to give independence to India, amnesty for political prisoners, some of whom have been held since 1915, and then a round-table conference to work out details of the transition period from today's status of British rule to the promised status of self-government. There speaks the true laborite and internationalist.

Two concluding observations: In the first place, when we venture to criticize the McDonald government it is not as Americans criticizing Englishmen, but as labor men to labor men. The honor of the Labor Movement is at stake here, and that movement does not know national or racial boundaries.

In the second place, we are not by silence attempting to whitewash United States imperialism. We hope the Filipinos, for example, will press vigorously for independence and we shall support every honest effort they may make to that end.

WHEN the Conference for Progressive Labor Action was formed it drew to itself not only those who saw the need for more militant action in the trade union movement but many who were dissatisfied with the tactics the Socialist Party had been pursuing during the last ten years. At

The Socialist Party In Ferment

the outset some of the younger Socialists took a leading part in the organization of the C. P. L. A.

Naturally, the activities of the C. P. L. A. has given added courage to the militants in the Socialist Party. The younger members, especially, are being attracted by the realistic and progressive program of this new progressive movement.

This ferment within the Socialist Party expressed itself at the last New York city convention held during the latter part of April when the "militants" presented a statement on the Socialist Party's attitude towards the unions which failed of passage by only ten votes. The resolution the younger Socialists were anxious to have adopted, demanded that the Socialist Party "assert its moral leadership of the workers, and be active in every phase of the workers' struggle in an aggressive and militant manner." That at "their union meetings the Socialist unions upon every suitable occasion point out that the Socialist Party is the political expression of the working class." That the "Labor Committee alternate outstanding progressive labor leaders at the Labor Institute, if conservative labor leaders who are utterly opposed to our policies are invited to speak." And that "the FORWARD be urged to adopt a definitely progressive labor attitude which will include criticism of the present A. F. of L. policies, not only as to political action but also on such matters as Lewisism, the National Civic Federation tendency, and the no-strike policy in the South."

These resolutions are interesting because they show what the Socialist Party failed to do to maintain its integrity as the leader of labor idealism. From the members themselves we find that the Socialist Party, for the sake of a neutral harmony with the official Labor Movement which has brought it nowhere except a process of "aging in peace," has been willing to sit idly on the sidelines, practically abdicating its historic function of revolutionary leadership.

But the ferment is heartening. It is hopeful when the young of a movement are sufficiently interested and aroused to beard the "older heads" and to challenge them to action. In this stand of the "militant minority" of New York City, and similar signs are not lacking in other

centers, evidence is brought forth showing that the Socialist Party is returning to that position which gained for it a million votes in 1912 (which would equal close to three million votes today) and the enthusiasm and hope of the young idealists in the trade union movement.

Today caution wins by ten votes. Tomorrow belongs to youth.

IF there is one basic failing of the official American Labor Movement that is of greater hurt to it than any other it is its desire to remain a two-by-four organism,

The Key To Labor Unity

interested solely in the industrial interests of the workers it represents. The whole machinery of American Labor is devoted to the problems arising out of the shop and factory. It gives no heed to the desires of workers as human beings.

There was hope with the founding of the workers education movement that the cultural needs of the workers would be more earnestly considered. But this hope soon foundered when this wider activity willingly accepted the middle-class ideology of adult education.

The limited viewpoint of labor has much to do with the disunity, disinterest, and the peculiar attitude of its leadership that the Movement is a business venture built solely for the welfare of its officials, which now prevails. It certainly is responsible for the total lack of a labor psychology among the masses of workers in this country. Here, at least, the American workers have much to learn from the old and more inclusive Labor Movements of Europe.

As Ed Falkowski emphasizes in his admirable article on the German Labor Movement published in this issue, regardless of the political and economic tints of the German workers, they are all united through the various cultural activities which augment the purely industrial interest of German trade unions. Whether they are rights, lefts, or in the middle group, they are all conscious of the fact that they belong to the working class—finding an outlet for their emotional content through labor sports, labor plays, labor songs and labor art.

Here is a key to labor unity which has not yet been forged in America. The results warrant emulation on our shores.

NEWS from Washington indicates that the anti-injunction legislation sponsored by the organized Labor Movement will not get out of committee during the present

Injunctions and a Labor Party

session of the Senate and that probably Congress will not get to a serious consideration of the subject for another two years. Of course, there is no guarantee that the bill will be passed then. The chances are all against it.

In New York state a small—very small—bit of anti-injunction legislation was obtained at this year's session of the legislature from labor's Republican and Democratic "friends." A court or judge may not now enjoin a defendant except upon notice to the defendant that an injunction is being asked for, "such notice as the court or judge in its or his discretion may direct."

At this rate, many a strike will be lost, many an organization campaign thwarted, many a nice company union built up, before the non-partisan political policy gets laws against the monstrous injunction evil.

Besides, if we get anti-injunction laws on the statute books what good will it do, unless labor has its own people responsible to its own party in executive offices to enforce the laws and on the bench to prevent them from being interpreted into futilities? Labor got the Clayton Act on the statute books some years ago. The Clayton Act was to deliver us from this very evil of injunctions and similar abuses. It was hailed by Gompers as the Magna Charta of labor. It proved nothing but a scrap of paper, as will every attractive law which is not backed by labor's organized political power.

We call again for a Labor Party, and in the meantime we advise workers in strikes and organizing campaigns systematically to evade or violate injunctions which are mere judge-made laws absolutely destructive of the rights guaranteed workers in the Constitution.

PRESIDENT GREEN and the American Federation of Labor are to be congratulated on the vigorous fight they put up against the confirmation of "Yellow Dog Parker's" appointment to the Supreme Court. Great results

What Licked Parker

might come from similar displays of aggressiveness and persistence on other occasions and in regard to other issues.

The attempt, however, to use the Parker incident as evidence of the efficacy of the American Federation of Labor's non-partisan political policy will be without justification. In the first place, a comparison of the number of those who voted against the Parker appointment with the number of Senators claimed by the A. F. of L. as "practically 100 per cent for labor" indicates that there were thirteen of the latter who did not vote against Mr. Parker. It would be interesting to know just who these thirteen "friends of labor" are who did not stand by when so vital an issue as the yellow-dog contract was at stake.

In the next place, several factors combined to defeat Parker. It happened that the yellow-dog issue was the one that figures most prominently in the Senate debates. That was a matter which could be debated in the open and certain progressive stand-bys in that august body took advantage of the opening. Other factors which could not be debated in the open probably cost Mr. Parker more votes, however. One of these was the fact that many Senators wanted a chance to whack our great Engineer-President, and he had laid himself open to attack by nominating a mediocre jurist for the purely political reason that he came from a southern state which went Republican in 1928—a master-stroke of social engineering! Most harmful of all to poor Parker perhaps was his stand on the right of Negroes to vote, the whole question of the rights of Negroes being one on which the prevailing attitude in the A. F. of L. is perhaps not much more advanced than Parker's.

Finally, in place of Parker we seem likely, at this writing, to get Owen Roberts who has not apparently made any slips which can be used as the basis for a Senatorial attack on him, but whose nomination by the Engineer-President can hardly be interpreted as a gesture of friendliness to labor. Brother Roberts is in the succession of Hughes and Taft not of Brandeis and Holmes. There is nothing in his record to indicate that he can be trusted to do anything for labor. What, we beg finally to inquire, is to become, after this Parker-Roberts episode, of the close harmony which has existed until now between the A. F. of L. and the Hoover administration?

THE defeat of Parker for the Supreme Court, in large measure due to the fact that he had made statements questioning the fitness of Negroes to use the ballot, was a significant demonstration of the importance of the Negro vote in the northern states. Undoubtedly it has served greatly to heighten the Negro's sense of his own importance. This is welcome.

How will the Negro exercise this political power of which he has become more fully aware? Surely, he can hardly feel moved to use it for the benefit of the Grand Old Party and the noble Engineer in the White House who sought to put over Parker on him and thus proved that their attitude is essentially the same as that of the Democratic party in the South. And is it conceivable that now when the mask has been torn from the face of the G. O. P., the Negro should turn from tweedle-dee to tweedle-dum and cast in his lot with the same Democratic party? That would be a tragedy, indeed, a symbol of a moral enslavement to ignorance as frightful as the physical slavery to which he was once subjected.

Let the Negro become aware of the fact that the political power of which he is conscious is primarily the power of several million toilers and let these dark-skinned toilers seek ways and means to unite with other toilers of every color, race, nationality and creed to build a political party which shall shatter the futile and corrupt Republican and Democratic parties, and then we shall all have cause for rejoicing, indeed.

WHILE the Workers Education Bureau is guiding the few remnants of workers education which remain within its care into the pleasant pastures of "education for leisure," assisted by Carnegie endowments, the matter of public education is receiving some attention from the

The Magic Formula Psyched

AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST. The Director of Curriculum of the Chicago public schools, Eston V. Tubbs, explains in the May issue that, while Chinese schools teach ancestor imitation; the Russian, communism; the English the ideal of service, the American schools teach,

"that merit and hard work constitute a magic formula that frequently transmutes the most discouraging circumstances into brilliant achievement."

Why bother with trade unions when in a trade union journal we are assured that it is "not uncommon for employees to have considerable holdings of stock in great corporations?" Again, without any proof the assertion is made:

"The process of extending profit and stock-sharing plans to employees by business concerns has developed to a point where the workers frequently exercise a controlling influence in the organization in which they are employed."

Excuses may be made for a public school official when he glorifies the acquisitive opportunities of the workers' children. But what can be said of the official magazine of the official Labor Movement when without a word of protest, criticism or explanation it prints such truck and thereby lends endorsement to the views expressed? The least it could have done was to point to the neglect of trade union history in the school curriculum and the bias and nationalistic egoism which mar the social purposes of the public school system. It could have superimposed an edi-

torial note showing that in this land of untrammelled opportunity only one-twenty-fifth of the elementary school children enter higher educational institutions.

Far truer is the voice of Chicago labor as expressed in an editorial of the *FEDERATION NEWS* of March 29 when it ends a smashing attack on the myth of opportunity thus:

"When it is fully realized that equality of opportunity is a ghastly farce in a country where all jobs, mental as well as physical, are owned and controlled by the rich, there will be a grand influx of these people into the ranks of the only organization primarily created to effectively battle for the welfare of overworked and underpaid toilers—the trades union movement of America."

SOME unions connected with the American Federation of Labor report slight increases in membership. So do some independent unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The increase is declared to be greatest in the South. These facts are inspiring for they show that Labor is again becoming alive to its opportunities and in the face of hard times, even making progress.

Membership Gains Not Enough

But small increases in membership cannot solve the problems of the injunction, the organization of the large-scale basic industries and of racketeering within the Labor Movement. To tackle these not only added numbers are essential but different policies are even more important. Will the non-partisan A. F. of L. policy be more effective with a few more thousand members added to the union rolls? Will it be any easier to organize the automobile, rubber and air-craft industries on a craft basis simply because a few craft unions have increased their numbers? And will such increases promote greater labor solidarity when accompanied by the tendencies now revealed in the struggle against Lewisism?

These questions are asked in a sincere desire to bring forth the truth that no army, no matter how large numerically, can win if it is ineffectively equipped and handicapped by obsolete strategy. An army needs numbers, but more than that it needs proper formation and right tactics. Otherwise its numbers signify nothing more than another length to the rope of sand.

THE attack by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the grain exchanges on the Federal Farm Board causes some interesting speculation. The head of the Farm Board was former head of the Harvester Trust, a position which certainly cannot be interpreted as a favorable economic background for the small farmer. The Harvester Trust stands to profit from the steady development of large, mechanized and corporatized farm industry the profit increasing directly in proportion to the elimination of the middleman and the control of its own outlets.

The Concealed Motive?

Will these corporations farm their own cooperatives, get rid of the middlemen as represented by Barnes and the grain exchanges, control their own storage and sales facilities and pocket the federal loans for themselves?

It is something to ponder over.

Bread Line Prosperity

By WILLIAM ROSS

YOU can't destroy American institutions. Not even when they fail to function for years. The Bread Line is 100 per cent American. In pre-war days New York had its bread lines regularly every winter. The institution has reappeared last winter and is persisting through the spring.

Citizens of other countries have been known to form lines for meagre food rations. Nearly every European country had them during the war when food was scarce. More recently Russia had them during food famines. In America we have them when food is plentiful—when the existence of prosperity is officially proclaimed by politicians and captains of industry.

Half a dozen bread lines graced the sidewalks of New York in recent months. Little was being said about them. Regardless of political faith, President Hoover, Mayor Walker, business men, newspaper proprietors, agreed to hush all talk about unemployment. This agreement worked until police commissioner Whalen precipitated a riot on Union Square. That put unemployment on the first page. Perhaps more impressive in the crusade on unemployment was Heywood Broun, the newspaper columnist, who through the press and the radio hammered on the existence of widespread unemployment and bread lines.

Thanks to Broun's interest the bread line at the famous Little Church Around the Corner received much attention. Two thousand men lined up at the church in the early mornings. Many would be there at dawn, three hours before meal tickets were distributed. At the appointed hour the rector of the church and his assistants, garbed in clerical vestments, distributed the tickets. The shabby, ill-kempt men who formed the bleak and ugly line, prized the tickets highly. These entitled them to 20 cent meals. Tickets given away elsewhere were worth only a nickel or a dime.

When asked, "Where did you sleep last night?" most men told of cement floors at rescue missions. In addition to such sleeping accommodations, the charitable missionaries would also insist on a dose of religion. Often the floors were overcrowded and the men allowed to sleep in chairs.

The city, the richest in the world, has not forgotten its responsibilities. There is a Municipal Lodging House where the homeless may stay no more than five nights each month. According to accounts the dirt and generosity of this institution are on the mission level. Those who stay the few nights allotted to them must work for their lodgings.

The well dressed office workers and comfortable business men who saw the

line felt uneasy about it. Evidently something was wrong. But it was the men's own fault, most of them seemed to reason. "These fellows are just bums who would not work," was the conclusion which eased the conscience of many observers.

Contrary to such notions every offer of a job found eager applicants. In fact, when an employment office was opened for the breadliners they fairly mobbed the place. Of the hundreds of jobs offered, every one was filled.

Inquiries into the condition of the men suggested the need of much social legislation. There were those past sixty and seventy no longer able to work. Consider the fine looking old fellow of 69 who was born and lived in New York all his life. He helped to pave many a street, to dig many a foundation. He tells with pride that he helped to build the Pennsylvania Station. He is willing enough to work. On his daily visits to the employment office he asked for a watchman's job. When a poorhouse was suggested he became indignant. An old age pension would help many like him.

Take another typical case. The man is about 50. He suffered from serious illness. All his savings gone. He is unable to go back to bricklaying, his life-long occupation. Had he remained in England he would be receiving health insurance. But here it is: "The devil take the hindmost."

A much larger group on the bread line consists of seasonal workers. They ship out in the spring to railroad and construction camps at wages of about \$40 a month and board, or perhaps 36 cents an hour straight. In the late fall they come back to New York and the bread line.

Bad business following the Wall Street crash and displacement by machinery claimed most victims. Among these were building trade workers in large numbers. There were clerks, blacksmiths, jewelry workers, machinists, salesmen, textile workers and miners. Unemployment insurance would keep the victims of such depressions off the bread lines.

Of course, there were also quite a few bums and panhandlers. There was

THEIR SHARE OF PROSPERITY



A
Charity
Mess
Hall
In
New
York
City

THE HUNGRY TRAIL



Waiting hours for a
20 cent meal ticket.

the old fellow whose father was a beggar. He was taught to beg and steal from early childhood. What chance did he have to get a start in life?

Rarely did any women appear on the bread line. Partly because there are better provisions for taking care of the female poor. Partly also because prostitution is a last resort. The great majority of the men were homeless. Some did not have homes since childhood. In warmer weather they spend their days in construction camps, the colder days in the Bowery "flophouses." Small earnings and uncertain seasonal work discouraged marriage.

But many have family ties. They often deny them out of masculine pride. When they tell about them there is the simple recital of long unemployment with all savings gone. Finally the home is broken up. Wife and children are parked with unwilling relatives while the husband hangs around the Bowery looking for a break.

They don't just hang around, they try the employment offices. There are many tales about the employment office sharks. There are those which send men to fictitious jobs; those which arrange with the foremen for frequent labor turnovers. A man sent on a job would be fired within a few days in order to make room for another laborer willing to pay the fee. Rarely if ever will anyone get a job without paying the fee in advance.

Do the men from the bread line show any resentment because they are hungry when food is plentiful, because they have no place to sleep when hotels are half empty, because they are ill-clad when clothing stores are over-

stocked? Docile and resigned are most of them. "Just out of luck," they say. Their attitude helps to explain the failure of the labor and radical movement in America. Here are luckless men, the down and outers, caught in the traps of economic and social maladjustments, not even knowing why, without having learned to rebel.

The benefactors of these workers are much concerned about preparing them for the hereafter; doubtless due to a subconscious wish to have them die. The appeals for funds sent out by the rescue missions impress with word and picture the religious services rendered in these dirty, bug ridden flophouses.

The city authorities did nothing to meet the emergency. Its extent was minimized and the plea of poverty was made the reason for its indifference by the richest city in the world. A vigorous Labor Movement would know how to bring the city politicians to terms. Unfortunately, the trade union movement, hard hit as it was by the unemployment crisis, accepted the attitude of the political machine.

No wonder then that many of the bread liners had very little interest in trade unionism. When questioned on this point their answers revealed the major difficulties of American trade unionism. Many worked at occupations or in industries not served by the trade union movement. Some did not join because closed charters barred them. Others could not pay high initia-

tion fees. Many were past or potential scabs.

It must not be assumed that trade unionists were altogether absent from the line. There were large numbers from the building, printing and metal trades.

Nor need it be assumed that all hungry men came to the bread lines. When wife and children are without food at home few men will beg their food on the line.

While warmer weather has lessened privation unemployment continues unabated. Next winter will again bring bread lines and degrading charity. Authorities everywhere must undertake relief as a public responsibility. Employment agencies must become public institutions giving free service. There must be old age pensions and better care of the infirm. Unemployment insurance is indispensable.

Did you notice "Jim" Maurer's substitute for the phrase "Labor-saving machinery"? "Jim" calls it "wages-saving machinery," which is something else again. The only time labor will be saved by machinery will be when machinery is owned by labor. Until then, "Jim's" phraseology is more realistic and to be preferred to the other misleading kind.

"March of the Machine"

Independent Political Action

—Yes, But What Kind?

By A. J. MUSTE

WE WHO were to enjoy the blessings of prosperity showered upon us by the New Capitalism, world without end, find ourselves in the mire of depression. With industry slowed up and millions of workers walking the streets, it is not easy for the workers to get higher wages or even to oppose direct or indirect reductions; it is difficult to organize and strikes may play into the employers' hands. As usual under such conditions where action on the union front becomes difficult, the workers are turning to political action. Even in conservative union circles such as the Rhode Island State Federation and the Rochester Central Labor Union, for example, local unions are being questioned as to whether they believe the time is ripe for entering upon independent political action.

Hoover Betrayal of Labor

Seldom has there been an administration which has done less, and which promises to do less, for labor than our present administration. It did nothing to prevent the business calamity which has overcome the nation, and has confined itself largely to platitudes about everything being in fine shape in its attempt to deal with the situation. Last summer depression was already setting in in the building and automobile industries. Nobody knew better than Mr. Hoover that if measures to prevent a depression and to take up the slack in employment were to be introduced, quick action was necessary. Instead his administration continued to chant the prosperity chorus making certain that the crash would be the greater and that serious distress would befall the workers before relief measures could be adopted.

When the crash came, the Hoover administration specialized in misleading statements about the extent of unemployment. Secretary Davis is hardly convinced even yet that the figures of his own department show that there are any large number out of work. Similarly misleading were the figures about all the building that was to be done in 1930 by public and private

agencies. None of this could be gotten under way soon enough to prevent serious distress. No one really knows to this day how much building will be done in excess of what would have taken place if the fast and furious conferences had not been held.

Mr. Hoover, when he was a mere Secretary of Commerce and there was no depression, was for a "prosperity reserve" for stimulating public works amounting to billions. As president he has not lifted a finger to support legislation to this end now that there is a depression.

Mr. Hoover called in the United States Chamber of Commerce and the big business heads to handle the situation, thus recognizing that body as virtually an agency of the government and forestalling the appointment of a commission similar to the Industrial Commission of 1912 which would have held hearings throughout the country, dramatized the situation and permitted various groups to present their solutions publicly.

The great Engineer called in labor leaders, told them that employers would not cut wages, and thus tricked them into agreeing to advise workers not to ask for wage increases. But he has not prevented numerous wage cuts, as he must have known he could not.

That is more than enough about the shabby treatment the Hoover administration has accorded the workers in connection with the economic depression. A more direct insult, though possibly not so widespread as an injury, was offered to labor in the "Yellow-dog" Parker appointment. Mr. Hoover, hoping to strengthen the Republican hold on the hitherto solid South, nominated a man from the State of North Carolina which voted for him and against Al Smith in the 1928 election. It was a purely political appointment. Parker had handed down a notorious anti-labor decision in connection with the yellow-dog contract. When Mr. Hoover's attention was called to this fact, did he withdraw his nominee or resort to some political device to get

this political appointee side-tracked? No! When it comes to a "yellow-dog" Judge for the Supreme Court of the land, already heavily weighted on the anti-labor and reactionary side, Mr. Hoover sticks to his friends. Indeed he went out of his way to defend Parker's action in the Red Jacket case.

We might cite other instances such as the appointment and, up to the present, retention as chairman of the Republican national committee of a power trust lobbyist, Claudius Huston, but this will suffice. If ever the workers had cause to rise against an administration and a party, they have cause to revolt now against the G. O. P.

Whither shall labor turn? Of course there are labor politicians in a number of places who are Democratic office-holders and unblushingly offer that party as the Moses or Messiah of labor. There is also a queer assortment of liberals, intellectuals, polite and respectable trade-union ladies who are just too thrilled by visits to the suburban homes of rich and influential Democratic lady politicians. There are former "Socialist" trade unionists and such who agree with the Democratic labor politicians in looking upon that party with favor and hope.

Surely, sensible and honest workers will not be taken in by this stuff. Are they likely to get any more from the Tammany machine in New York than from the Republican machine in Chicago? Will the Democracy of the South where there is as yet only the merest beginning of social legislation or recognition of the right of labor to organize permit the Democratic party to give labor its rights? Does not the Democratic party get its campaign funds from the rich just as the Republican? And is it any less likely to play the tune that its contributors call for in every important labor crisis? Have workers on the picket-lines ever found any important difference between Democratic and Republican night-sticks in the hands of the police?

The answer is clear. *We must have in this country a party absolutely sepa-*

rate and distinct from the two old parties. We need a new and realistic political alignment.

We believe, however, that much effort will be wasted or worse than wasted, many false hopes will sap our energies, unless in building a new party, certain lines of action are closely adhered to. We state these lines here dogmatically though not in a dogmatic spirit.

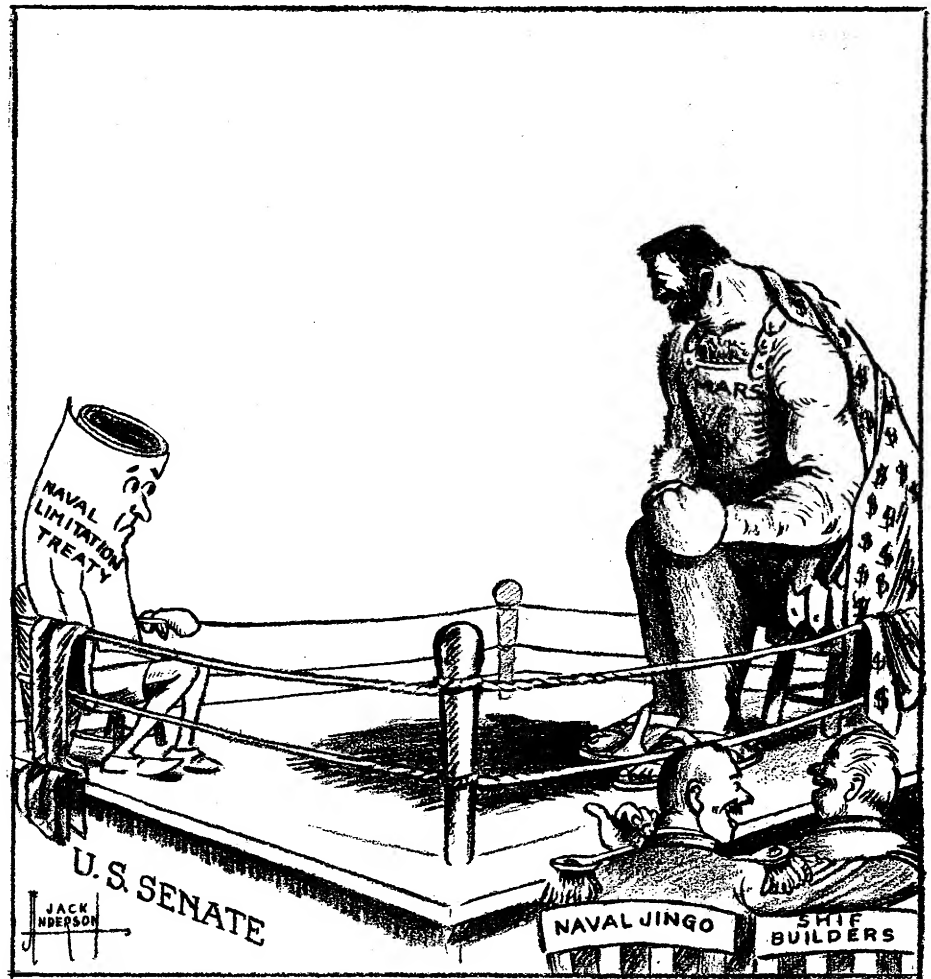
1. *The New Party Must Be A Labor Party.* James Madison, sometimes described as the father of the Constitution, made it clear in a famous passage in Article 10 of the *FEDERALIST* that political parties serve economic interests and groups. If you want to know whether there is really a chance to build a new party, you have to ask whether there is an economic interest and group not served by the dominant political parties. In an industrial and capitalist world, that group consists of the wage-earners, the professional, clerical and especially, manual workers in our big industries. They get an inequitable share of the national income; their elementary rights to protest and organize are denied; their status is insecure and inferior; their opportunities are limited. On the other hand, these workers have the votes to build a new party and their pennies gathered together can match the million dollar campaign funds given to the old parties by big business and finance leaders.

Any new party which does not get its main strength from these industrial workers and does not seek primarily to serve their material and spiritual needs will be as unreal as are the present old parties, and will contribute not clarity but more confusion to the political scene.

The new party must have an intelligent agricultural policy in order to get as much farmer support as possible. But in so far as farmers are also getting to a wage-earner status, they constitute an even smaller group in our population and their psychology is not such as you can build a stable party of revolt upon. Liberals and intellectuals, progressive spirits in all walks of life, will find a welcome, an intelligent program of social reconstruction and a chance to work in a labor party, but they too have neither the votes nor the psychology to provide the broad base for a realistic political alignment.

2. *A Labor Party Must Develop Its Own Leadership and Candidates.* When once a party is well established and strong, it can afford to welcome

"WHEN A FELLER NEEDS A FRIEND"



Drawn for Labor Age by J. F. Anderson

It will be just too bad.

into its service men and women who have already made reputations in the old parties and are ready to repudiate those parties. Indeed, a labor party does not at any time absolutely debar celebrities, if it is certain that they are definitely cutting themselves off from their old political alignment. Politicians who are already established however, are apt to do so because they see some temporary political advantage for themselves. They want to get elected to an office, rather than build up a new party. In a critical moment they will desert the party as easily as they came into it. Besides, the whole notion that a party is built up by big men is a fallacy. A party is built on a mass need, an economic interest, a sound program and the labor of hundreds of obscure workers. Then the party as it grows makes its leaders great. It is not by picking out a few big men to lead that a party becomes great. Let labor slowly and patiently build up its own leadership. And this suggests the next basic point.

3. *The Party Must Build Its Machinery From the Bottom.* Orators and fine programs do not build a party. Idealism if it remains abstract or sentimental will not build a party. The strength of the old parties lies in the machinery they build up in precincts, wards, congressional districts. The labor party needs a few skillful and patient organizers, not of the ballyhoo type, and a lot of young men and women who will do Jimmy Higgins work in obscurity.

In America we tend to get excited about a new party just before a presidential election, make a big splurge, and then forget about it until the next presidential election—which suits the old parties exactly but does not develop a permanent political arm for labor. It is encouraging that people are now beginning to build labor and socialist parties in normal times and down on the ground in the cities and the congressional districts where alone the foundations can be laid.

4. *The New Party Must Have A Radical Program of Social Ownership and Control of Basic Resources and Industries.* In other words, it must stand openly for a socialist reconstruction of society. It must set out to do away with capitalism and to establish in its stead a cooperative order of industry and society.

Possibly some one thinks, with pleasure or dismay, "Now he is coming to the idealistic part of his essay." The fact is I am arguing for a thorough-going program of socialist reconstruction because I think that is the only realistic, practical, sensible thing to do. We have to meet the people where they live and not with abstraction. So far as possible we must put our program in terms of immediate aims which can be understood and which appear to be within reach. But we must not be a mere "good government" party. We are not pursuing the will-o'-the-wisp of putting honest men in office. We must not deceive the people as to what can be done under the present economic system. If we place too much emphasis on these immediate aims we shall probably never get started because the old parties can beat us at that game. If we do get started on this line, we shall one day find ourselves in the sorry position in which the British Labor Party finds itself today, threatened with most serious internal dissension because the Labor Party is not doing one single distinctively labor thing about unemployment, and finds itself with increasing unemployment on its hands but unable honestly and with good grace to place the blame on capitalist economy where it belongs because by its election propaganda it raised false hopes as to what could be achieved immediately and without disturbing capitalist industry.

If we go out from the start with a radical and thorough program, our growth is likely to be slower, but it will be sound and sure. No other course is worth bothering about at this late date in the development of the new capitalism in this country. By the same token

5. *The Labor Party Must Be Openly and Uncompromisingly Anti-Militarist and Anti-Imperialist.* It must insist that our marines get out of other countries, oppose military training in the public schools, fight jingoism in school programs and text-books, stand for the independence of the Philippines, oppose any additions to our navy, insist on drastic cuts in our military expenditures, refuse to support any war now that the Kellogg Pact

has been signed and make it known in advance that it will refuse to support any war, oppose any meddling on the part of the United States in the affairs of weaker nations, support anti-imperialist movements against the United States in other countries.

Once again, such a course will cost us votes in the beginning but at this day and age there is no use engaging in the baby-play of pretending to establish a labor party which undertakes to compromise with militarism and runs the risk of being jockeyed into the position in which the British Labor Party finds itself today in regard to India.

6. *Within the New Party There Must Be A Militant Left Wing Group.* In theory any one who has even the most elementary knowledge of the mechanism of any sort of group action will accept this point. The practical question is what group will fulfill this function in any labor party which may be built in the United States?

The logical thing would be for the Socialist Party to fulfill here the role which the Independent Labor Party has played in Great Britain. Before the War there would have been no doubt that the Socialist Party was slated for this role in America. In certain instances it is playing that part now. There are many ardent and active young spirits in the Socialist Party who are working to this end.

Certain grounds for doubt should, however, have the most earnest thought of all who are concerned about the building of a new social order, whether they be Socialist Party members or not. In the first place, the Socialist Party is not a new and young movement free from past ties and traditions, able to launch forth with the energy, the courage and, perhaps, the carelessness of a newcomer on the political scene. There is some question as to whether it can practically be "born again," as it would have to be if it were to function as a left-wing labor group. In the second place, in spite of a considerable infusion of young blood even in official positions, the dominant personalities in certain sections of the party are middle-aged or old people who rendered magnificent service in an older day but for that very reason, perhaps, are not in a position to approach the problems of a new day in a sufficiently fresh spirit.

In the third place, in the absence of a Labor Party in the United States, the Socialist Party in centers where it has voting strength such as Milwaukee

and Reading, has virtually been forced to function as a labor party rather than as a left-wing ginger group in a larger body. Whether it can now play a different role or may not simply be absorbed in such centers if a national labor party once gets under way, is a matter of doubt.

More serious still is the fact that certain sections of the Socialist Party have very close political ties with trade unions and trade union leaders which have pretty much lost all socialist idealism and are infected with such evils as autocracy and corruption which are, alas, too common in our Labor Movement. The Socialist Party is thus in the position of a party which was critical of the American Federation of Labor before the war when that organization was perhaps on the whole rendering pretty good service to the working-class and was certainly much more militant and aggressive than it is now, while it is inclined to "play" with A. F. of L. leaders and to be very cautious in criticism of their policies now when at many points they are demonstrably failing to meet the needs of the workers and work hand in glove with the most reactionary politicians of the old parties!

In connection with this, the whole organization of certain sections of the Socialist Party is toward the middle class and away from the unskilled workers and their actual struggles, though, obviously, building industrial unions in basic industries and building a labor or Socialist Party must go hand in hand. From all this there develops a fundamental problem which the Socialist Party must solve and on the solution of which any continued independent existence must depend.

Meanwhile progressives in or out of the Socialist Party must rally to the Conference for Progressive Labor Action which has set forth a clear cut program on all issues here cited. Without militants, as the history of labor in the United States and elsewhere abundantly demonstrates, no industrial unions and no labor party will be built. Without militants, no union or labor party will remain genuinely labor. Without a definite program, a rallying centre, a means of intercommunication and the morale and discipline which constant consultation can generate, militants are scattered and helpless. For that reason the C. P. L. A. must enter on the second year of its history with a sobering sense of its responsibility and with redoubled energy, courage and fire.

Recreation for Unity

Workers' Own Sports, Plays and Art Hold German Workers in Labor Movement

By ED FALKOWSKI

A GERMAN worker usually knows more about Bruno Schonlanck, writer of worker-songs, than about Chopin or Mendelssohn. The radical worker knows the ballads of Eisler, neglecting those handed down by regular institutions. And he may know much more about Eisner, Holz, or Husemann than about Einstein, or Tardieu, or even Hindenburg.

The German Labor Movement has developed its own labor culture to such an extent that a worker can find satisfaction for a good many of his spiritual and cultural and emotional desires without going outside of the Labor Movement.

Labor drama, the beginnings of a worker-cinema, lectures, schools, music and dances, sports and hobbies, literature and newspapers, stores and even factories, may be found within the bounds of the Labor Movement.

It is true that the political tension in Germany has reached a high point; that party denounces party, and the differences between extreme rights and extreme lefts are not nearly so broad as those between social democrats, and the next strongest labor party, the communists.

One group of workers applauds the defeat of another. When the police club a thousand communist skulls, the social democratic newspapers shout with joy, while when the social democrats become intimately involved in scandals, the communists find this a cue for booing down the other side.

But what is significant is that these are all workers, men of mine and mill, throwing themselves with throttle wide open into the political fight. Most workers of Germany belong to some form of industrial organization, from deep yellow to burning red. They are deeply political—political on the job, at home, in the street. They breathe politics, and discuss it.

Politics in Germany decides the size of one's loaf of

bread tomorrow. It settles the price of margarine, and juggles with unemployment insurance, and such other security as the worker has in a world old, tired, and to him, very unsafe.

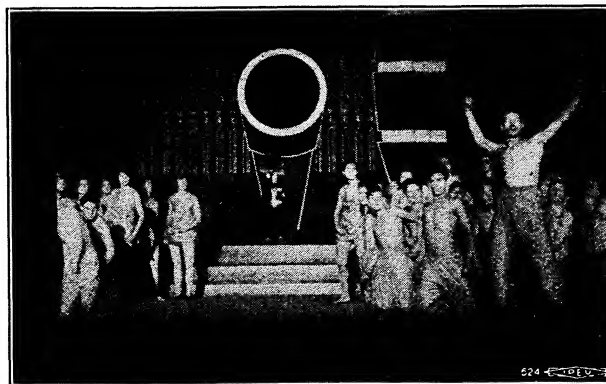
For social insurance in Germany is not so securely established that one can sit back and watch it do its stuff. One must act every day to defend it from the encroachments of industrialists whose power since the war has grown by leaps and bounds. No autocrats of the old order wielded the power the German coal and steel kings command today.

II

To the new political power of the industrialists is added another menace to German workers in the form of the so-called *Werksgemeinschaft* movement—the German name for the company union.

Not only does it creep into a plant by means of subtle propaganda, but in mine-and-mill-villages, where the will of the Direktor is often the supreme law, adherence means very special benefits in the form of increased wages, better job, vacation for the children, work for the oldest son, better treatment when one is ill, cheaper potatoes, etc. Even the leaky roof of a company-unionist's home will be sooner repaired than that of another worker's.

LABOR DRAMATICS



Volk und Zeit (Berlin)

German workers' dramatic club stages an anti-war play.

The monotony of a worker's village life is broken by beer-evenings during which the corporation pays for the beer consumed, and the hot dogs. A company orchestra provides inspiring concerts, and Christmas time means presents for the kiddies, and cake for the wives—all paid for by the company.

Such propaganda is difficult to combat, in view of the worker's lean situation. If he strikes, at the end of two weeks he is helpless. The unions are not too prosperous since the inflation, while wages are usually miserably low with a view of crippling the worker's militancy. If he is militant, well and good. Two weeks on the street—or even thrown out of the company house and out of a job (and it takes half a lifetime to find another job sometimes) will soon bring the renegades to terms. "They have it too good!" is the company's point of view, and uses the strike as a pretext for further depressing the actual conditions of workers on the job, in spite of nominal improvements written into renewed labor contracts with unions.

Here is a new situation for the German unions to face—something they have never faced before. It means that such cultural methods as have been developed must be further intensified to counteract the danger.

But German unions are not asleep. They work with camera and pen and

brush. Poem and song and play and music are weapons in the hands of the movement. Importation of Russian films is encouraged. It is true that the radical movement is always a forerunner in these things. But the older unions are not too blind to pass up a good thing. The fact that communists compose many lively songs doesn't prevent the other unions from trying to imitate a good example.

In this respect one must admit a good deal of fair-mindedness exists among the more intelligent leaders of the unions who, in spite of the high

political temperature, do not permit party-blindness to interfere with their appreciation of a good thing no matter which side brings it out first.

To this extent at least there is a unity in the German Labor Movement.

III

While in the United States the primitive task of convincing a worker that he is a worker still remains to be done, in Germany the job is that of trying to win him into a particular camp. The worker has long since gone through the depressing stages of finding out to which class he really belongs. He doesn't have to read Karl Marx to know this.

The various unions do not exclude one another—do not even in a sense, compete with one another, because they each express fundamental lines of conviction.

The Christian unions are anti-free-thinking; the social democrats fight for a liberal point of view; the opposition unions are out-and-out radicals, while the Hirsch-Duncker takes in small skilled groups who are too independent to join other unions.

When a union covers a territory in its usual house-to-house campaigning for members, it tries to win the unorganized workers either for itself, or to persuade him to go into the other organizations. Cases are familiar of the Christian union taking members for the Social Democratic (so-called Free) unions, and vice versa.

In signing new agreements, the main-line unions cooperate completely, and see to it that they are enforced.

But this apparent harmony doesn't mean that their paths are smooth and frictionless. In political campaigns, in plant committee elections, etc. each directs the full force of its power against the other. The result is that each is always in fighting trim, knowing that it can rely on assistance from the other union only when it can command respect through its own power.

The radical unions, a party of protesting outcasts from the regular unions, come into plant-power at various points where discontent is keen, and other unions ineffective. These groups are bitterly opposed to the regular organizations, and neither side gives the other quarter.

IV

Each organization has its weekly paper furnished to its members. Besides, there are many monthly publications, special magazines for plant-committeemen, dealing with methods of handling plant situations legally. Research departments dig up statistical

material, while university-trained workers, or graduates of labor colleges, write up the news, or do active work among the workers, such as representing their claims against the corporation in the labor courts, etc.

Plant committee campaigns keep alive political issues inside the plant. Each union posts its candidates, and urges its propaganda on the workers.

Once a week the plant committee gets together where convenient to receive complaints from workers desiring assistance. The worker's life is rather complicated. There are pension-claims (partial or full); reductions of dues for social insurance; complaints about the job or protests against being fired, or being paid under the minimum scale.

In most of these matters he requires the help of skilled men who know how to make the existing laws effective where stubborn corporations try to override them.

Mentioning these things in what purports to be a glance at the cultural activities of the German Labor Movement, may sound irrelevant. Yet this is the situation that makes a labor culture possible at all. The life of the worker is bound up with that of the plant; and through it, with the union, which stands between him and the brutality of the industrialists.

The worker is so completely antagonistic to the employer that even where he reads no paper, and is indifferent to unionism, he will resist all efforts of employers to salve him with words. It is only when the employer ventures into the more concrete ways of the *Werksgemeinschaft* that the worker may be induced to part with his soul that he might have a company pig in his pen.

V

The unions conduct night-schools for young workers desiring to learn the elements of unionism. From the brighter ones students are selected for intenser training, at first to labor Sunday schools (all expenses covered by the organization), and then a few weeks or months in a higher institution.

At Königswinter is a labor college where the Christian and social democratic unions send many of their students, including elected plant-committeemen who are usually sent there for a few weeks of intense study of plant-committee laws.

A selected few are sent by the unions to Dusseldorf, or Frankfurt universities. From this class come the economic experts, journalists, etc.—

men who will handle the more complicated work of the organization.

Besides this there are many schools such as the *Metallarbeiter's* school at Durrenberg, where the individual unions send their students for special training.

This means that the Labor Movement has a sound intellectual basis for its work. There is less hit-or-miss about the movement than there is in the United States. At the top is a structure of skilled experts, many of whom attend international meetings, etc., and who try to look at arising situations from a scientific and world point of view.

No genuine labor culture can arise out of unaided enthusiasm. Trained skill must be put to use, and the German unions have long appreciated this fact.

In any consideration of labor culture, one must ask what is the difference between labor culture, and culture in general. Is it good, for instance, that a worker know more about Brust, the father of the Christian unions, than about Thomas Mann?

The fact is that labor culture does not exclude any real culture. It only means the projection into all arts, sciences, philosophies, etc. of a labor point of view, in the same sense as the average newspaper critic gives a middle-class point of view—a Rotary club's verdict—on the intellectual or political happenings of the day.

Certainly what a play means to a business man is not what the same play would mean to a worker. There is no sure or absolute standard of art.

A POSTER APPEAL



Method of fighting overtime work by the use of posters produced by German Lithographers Union.

All art or science stands, outside its frame of definition, in a certain light of interpretation. It is necessary that the worker cease adapting a point of view alien to his interests. Without ignoring the significance of any intellectual endeavor, he can still look at it from a worker point of view without insulting the "pure art" or science theory any more than middle class intellectuals insult it by dressing it up in the ideological clothes of their standing.

VI

The immediate situation, however, is such as calls for competition between the Labor Movement and the financial interests for the emotions of the workingman. Cinema, newspaper, book, picture, have become mediums through which capitalists reach for power into the emotional capacity of the worker.

Where the battle takes place before one's doorstep, and events don't wait for long-run solutions one has to act even when the chance of making a mistake is rather large.

Under such auspices has what we have of workers' culture in Germany been rushed to life. One might say it has had a premature birth, but it is a hardy infant.

Nearly every work-town has today its theatrical groups where workers not only stage their own plays, but write them, and compose the songs. Worker-orchestras, singing societies, sport organizations are general. They provide any number of affairs for the worker's entertainment—dances, lectures, plays, coffee-parties. The workers, whose lives are hungry for emotional content, turn out en masse.

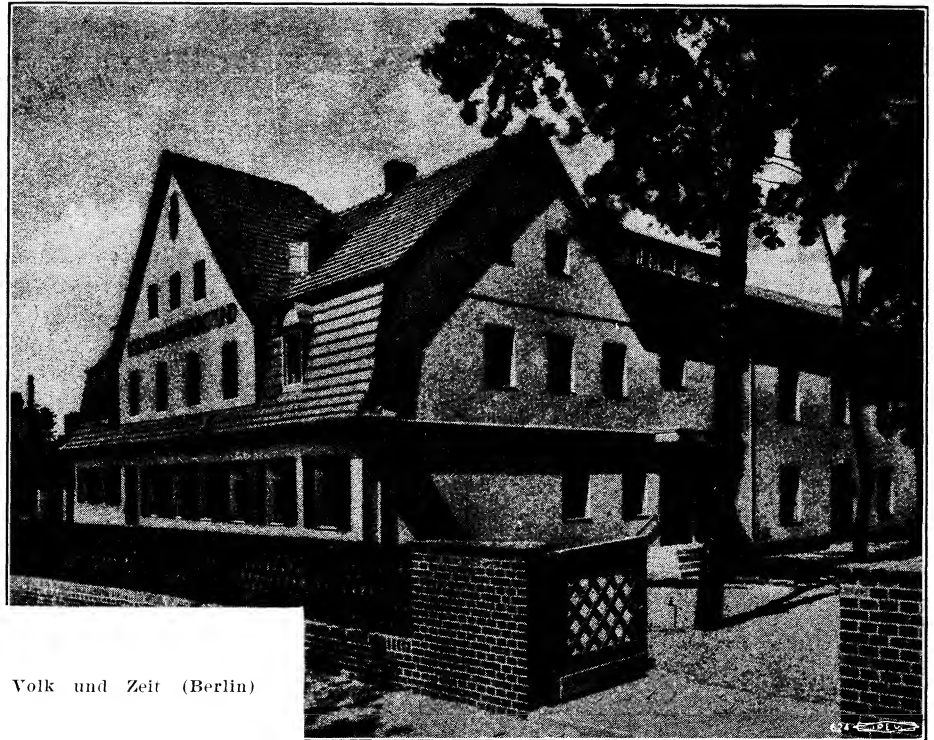
Anniversaries are celebrated on massive scale, as for instance the 50th anniversary of the Free Miner's Union at Dortmund, in 1929, or even, to take an extreme, the Free Thinker's Fest in Dusseldorf.

Bands, orchestras, parades, dances,—a labor carnival takes place, the streets filled with workers from all parts of the country. Everywhere are brilliant posters appealing to the unorganized to join the union.

Labor poets are not only encouraged, but the unions issue bound editions of their poems, as those of Kes-sing, for instance, from the Christian Miners Union, and those of Kalinowski, from the Free Union.

In Berlin, the IFA (Interessengemeinschaft für Arbeiter-Kultur) has become the central organization of nearly thirty groups. These groups represent sports, literature, theatre, languages (Esperanto and Ido), anti-

A GERMAN LABOR SCHOOL



Volk und Zeit (Berlin)

This magnificent structure at Werslee, near Berlin, was erected by the building trades unions for the training of labor officials and young workers.

alcohol, radio, phonograph records, songs,—even the Piscator group is affiliated.

IFA's contact between the worker and the professional artist means that the latter is ready at all times to help the worker in his efforts to stage a play or plan such exhibitions, for instance, as the recent display of "worker-culture" in Berlin, which called for much professional skill in decorating.

The worker is hungry for worker-literature—stories of the mines and mills; plays dealing with experiences he can share; novels about the Ruhr. "The Kaiser's Coolie," "The Burning Ruhr," "Told by a Kumpel," are titles of some of the books most widely read by workers. Upton Sinclair and Jack London are very popular, and every worker knows something of Ben Lindsey's ideas. One of the most widely purchased books for workers is Dr. Hollein's "Pregnancy-Compulsion — and No End!" which deals with contraceptives in plain language. Even the poorest of the poor have a greasy copy of this book somewhere around the house.

VII

The hunger of the worker for culture is intense—so intense that much of it overflows into the conventional channels. But the Labor Movement is awake to the situation, and is con-

tinually experimenting, planning, studying.

The problem of holding the interest of the worker is a difficult one, but can partly be solved by getting the worker himself to cooperate, instead of being always the passive spectator. Things do not seem so dull when you yourself help to make them, and realize the difficulties to be overcome.

Sometimes it looks as if labor drama, poetry, etc. lacks humor and is too grim and realistic. More temperament is needed, for laughter is as good a weapon as tears, if not sometimes a better one.

The first labor comedy will be an event! But with the workers' burlesque troupes—traveling groups of actors who acquire no scenery or costume, and whose stage is often a street or a pier, an excellent beginning in the right direction has been made. Anyone who has seen their performances—their satirical stunts, songs and wit, cannot resist seeing them again and yet again. They write up their minstrels themselves, and every two or three weeks, have something new. The workers come to see them regularly, and never go away disappointed.

Perhaps here one sees a propaganda and culture method which must become more general in the Labor Movement throughout the world.

Flashes from the Labor World

Organized workers are going to be a lot cockier in dealing with politicians and bosses following the revelation of their latent strength in dealing with those respectable troglodytes, John J. Parker and Joe Grundy. Insurgents in the Labor Movement have so long complained that organized labor's strength is not properly used or even evoked that the impression had gotten around that American workers had lost their kick. They have shown in the past few weeks that given a definite lead, they wield real power in these States.

Who'd have thought it? As might have been expected, the first reaction of labor leaders was to bend the knee to Pres. Hoover and the reactionary southern judge he wanted to place on the supreme bench. The pusillanimous president of the North Carolina Federation of Labor, himself a political jobholder as well as labor leader, lauded Yellow Dog Parker. Washington officials of the A. F. of L. said nothing, did nothing, were not even curious.

Then a member of the staff of "Labor," the national railwaymen's paper, discovered Parker's ruling in the Red Jacket yellow dog case. He told Laurence Todd, Federated Press correspondent. Todd told the A. F. of L. and rushed over to the senate. Then the fight began, with the FP man as marshal of the anti-Parker forces among the newspaper correspondents of the press gallery at the Capitol.

Organized labor rose upon its hind legs all the way from Portland, Me., to Portland, Ore., to make itself vocal on the question of Yellow Dog Parker. When the returns came in, Senators decided that Mr. Parker's room was more desirable than his company on the supreme bench.

* * *

Among the Senators, however, who voted for Parker was one Joseph R. Grundy, first member of the exclusive Suicide Club formed in Washington immediately after the rejection of Parker. Its membership is restricted to the Senators who voted for Grundy, and one by one as they come up for renomination or reelection they are headed in the direction of political limbo. Joe Grundy, father of the outrageous billion dollar

tariff, is the first member of the Suicide Club to drink the hemlock. While his probable successor, James J. Davis, is little better, it works wonders for labor's morale to kick a Grundy out of open political life. Six years from now it is to be hoped that Pennsylvania's workers will have their own party, in order to give the boot to the slick two-faced Davis.

* * *

Unemployment gets no better fast. It is the running sore that betrays the incurable disease of capitalism. Balm applied by the balmy Hoover does this open

sured that the 5-day week was the cure, building workers now find themselves the worst afflicted of all trades. In St. Louis they are voting for a temporary 6-hour day on the 5-day week schedule, in order to help their hungry brothers. The situation there, reports Martin A. Dillman of the Missouri Federation of Labor, is the worst in 25 years.

Brother McGrady of the A. F. of L., the same who was kidnapped last year from Elizabethton, Tenn., with Alfred Hoffman, tackled the problem before a southern federation of labor convention.

But all he could suggest were more job agencies—as if they created jobs—more information about unemployment (in itself cold comfort as English workers know) and some stabilization of industry.

* * *

One wonders where the A. F. of L. really stands on this matter of jobs. McGrady, speaking as Green's own representative, talks about unemployment offices and figures. On the other hand Sec. Frank Morrison, speaking at a testimonial dinner to Pres. James C. Shanessy of the Barbers International in New York, came out flatfootedly for government unemployment insurance. Considering the promising progress being made in social legislation and the immensity of the job still waiting to be done, it would seem that the A. F. of L. should speak out in no uncertain tones on this all-important problem. Is McGrady's social-worker solution the A. F. of L. answer, or does Sec. Morrison speak officially?"

* * *

Strikers are always better off in their consciences than scabs are. But not so often are they more fortunate materially. Labor's progress is a martyr's road and too often the loyal militant worker is outside the factory. In Marion, N. C., which you may remember was the scene of dramatic strikes last year, scabs are working eight days a month for little or nothing. They have a roof over their heads and only corn and sowbelly to eat. Consider however the faithful striker, driven from the mills by a blacklist. He has gone into some better occupation right in Marion, is working somewhat more steadily, is getting at least as much money as the scabs and has a clear conscience.

RIGHT IN THE MIDRIFF



Labor

624 DEU

Grundy lost and Davis won—but Labor's victory was negative. Only through a Labor Party can Pennsylvania labor really win on the political field.

sore no good; in fact it is just another irritant. The stock market is shaken whenever the great stationary engineer in Washington moves his 225-pound bulk to declare that this is the best of all possible worlds. Little recovery is now expected before fall; and even that is a mere pious hope. Capitalism here seems to be running into sharp difficulties. The golden era of Coolidge prosperity passed out when the little man slid out of the president's chair and retreated to his small town lawyer's office.

* * *

Organized labor finds itself baffled by unemployment. After they had been as-

Horace B. Davis of the Federated Press staff tells us of the polite cooperation between cops and bosses in Memphis, down near the heart of Darkest America. At the General Motors plant in that town, workers have to have the good word of a cop or deputy before they can get a real standing with the boss. On the other hand, all the boss has to do is phone the sergeant when a worker gets unruly. The sergeant has him locked up without charges. Usually the unfortunate is a Negro as well as a worker, and thus the member at one time of two oppressed classes. Often the General Motors boss and the sergeant forget about the man in jail. That happened the other day when the sergeant called up General Motors. "Say, we've been holding a guy here for you for 45 days. What d'ye want done with him?" The boss had completely forgotten about him!

* * *

Down in Danville, by the time these lines are being read by faithful LABOR AGERS, there may be a strike. And there may not be. Last month you read of the United Textile Workers' brilliant new strategy of winning the south without a battle. It was to be a nice bloodless war, something like the Chinese are said to pull off, with each side trying to scare each other and then finally falling together in an embrace worthy of Hollywood.

This strange scene will soon have its curtain, because for some curious reason on which the higher strategists of the A. F. of L. southern campaign had not calculated, the Riverside & Dan River mills management refuses to deal with the union. Whether they figure that they've had enough trouble with company unions, or what, they have flatly rejected A. F. of L. proposals that "labor engineers" be permitted to go in and help the management make more money so that more wages can be paid and hours shortened. The theory was beautiful enough but unfortunately the world is still a mean, wicked old place to be in and even a member of the U. T. W. has to pack a punch if he wants the boss to respect him.

Federated Press scouts in the south report that the Danville workers will either strike in the near future or lose interest in their union. After all there's no use of paying dues to a union if it is merely a fraternal organization. There are plenty of those in the field already in the south. Action is the need, but sane, safe, sound, sober, cautious, conservative, well-balanced, judicious minds who run A. F. of L. strategy in the south are afraid of a strike involving 5,000 workers and 15,000 dependents. We don't blame them; it would be a real fight alright and when

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NEW YORK, N. Y.

you have no guts for fighting, it is much better to be safe and sane, etc.

* * *

This old age pension business is getting serious. Now comes Massachusetts, yes, Calvin Coolidge's own Massachusetts, with an old age pensions bill which threatened for a while to be the real thing. An age limit of 60 for women and 65 for men, instead of New York's 70. Tories thundered about it in the house, tried to block it by every parliamentary trick. But it went through 202 to 27. The reactionary Senate pulled out the 60-65 age limit and then sent it on its way to conference over the cry of one old troglodyte that the man who had reached 60 without having children to support him or money saved ought to die. Like the New York law, the bill carries the charity stigma of being administered through the public welfare department. Wendell Phillips Thore, who has fought wholeheartedly for old age pensions for 20 years, declared it should be administered directly by the governor's council and with money paid out directly by the state treasury.

* * *

Southern labor federations had a pretty hot time of it in conventions this spring. The Tennessee Federation was all het up over the failure of the Elizabethton strike due to Gov. Horton's "600 mediators in brown uniforms and bayonets." The defeat of Horton has become the dominant issue in the state campaign, so far as labor is concerned. The Alabama Federation, torn over an internal fight for office complicated with charges of financial irregularities, heard reports on the southern campaign. The Virginia Federation rather gingerly conceded support to the

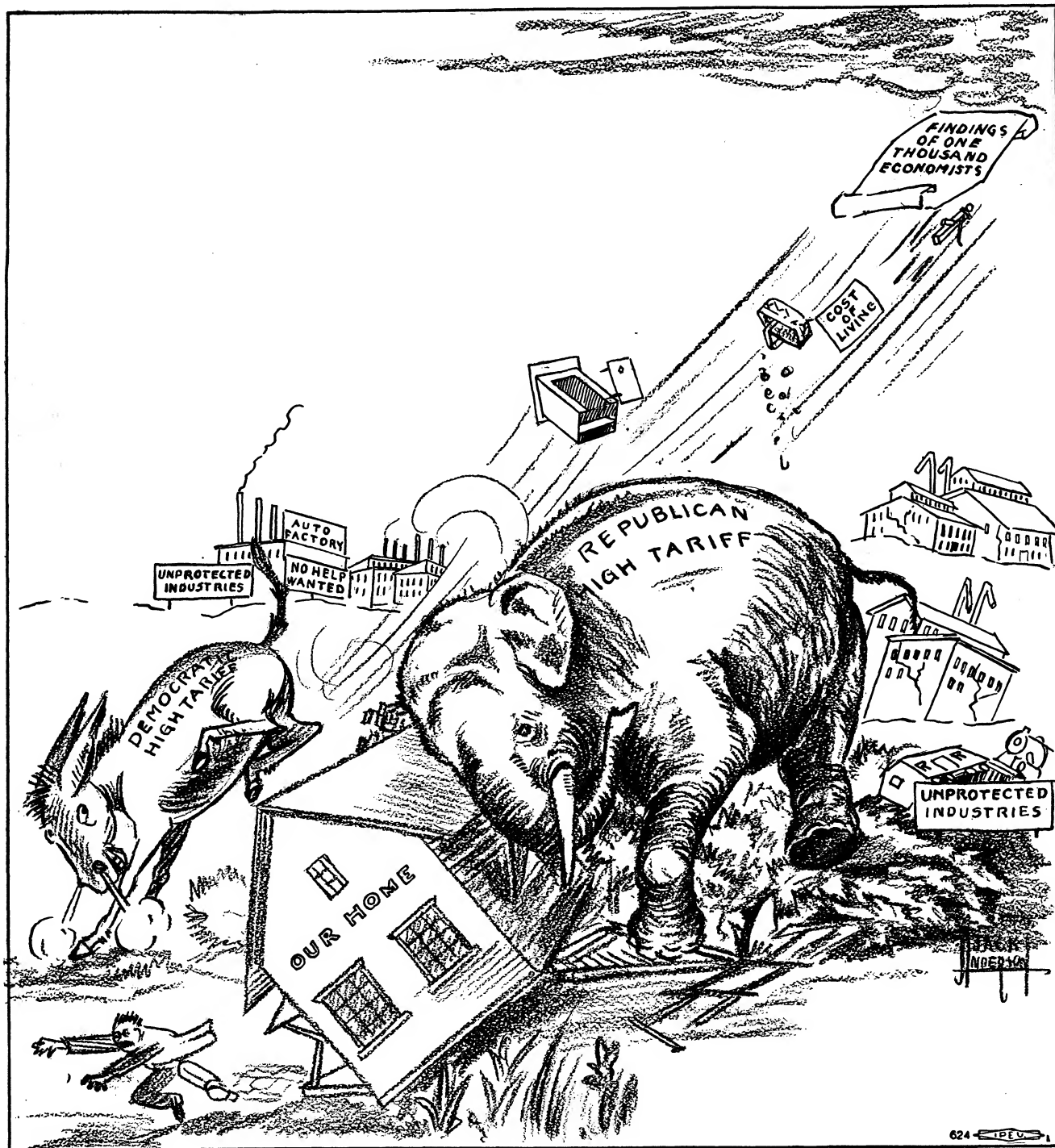
fresh band of 20 delegates from the Danville mill union, largest in the south. But on the whole it must be reported that there was hardly the fervor in these conventions that marks a big crusade. The engineers in the A. F. of L. building in Washington should know that you need more steam in the boilers to exert enough pressure to move southern mill bosses.

* * *

Unfortunately the Communists do not seem to be having as much success this year as last in the south. Economic conditions are more adverse and internal affairs in the Communist union more unsettled, and so the A. F. of L. is bereft of one useful prod to force it into action. Competition is the life of trade. Nevertheless, the hysteria of 1929 lives over into 1930 and in Atlanta, which has not yet recovered from the Civil War (or the Second American Revolution as Beard calls it) six Communists face death for holding mixed meetings of white and Negro workers. This may sound strange to the unbelieving in the north. Nothing should be strange however in the south where old slave huts nestle in the shadow of great modern mills, last word in 20th century advance. Holding an interracial meeting is nothing less than insurrection, according to the supposedly great state of Georgia, and the penalty for that is death. Of course, it is not very likely that Powers, Carr and the other four Communist organizers will be hanged or electrocuted, but long prison terms, as in the Gastonia case, are by no means uncertain. The Intl. Labor Defense is handling the case.

HARVEY O'CONNOR

ON A RAMPAGE •



Drawn for Labor Age by Jack Anderson

Labor will pay a heavy toll in high commodity prices and more unemployment if the billion dollar tariff bill is passed.

A Robber Tariff

By COLEMAN B. CHENEY

REPEATEDLY have politicians declaimed that the tariff is designed and is functioning for the maintenance of high wages and good working conditions for labor; and repeatedly has labor cast large votes for high tariff Congressmen. Labor votes make possible the acts of Congress which raise the tariff rates; and labor votes could force a reversal of this policy if they chose. Is it to the interest of labor to make and keep the tariff high, or is labor being fooled by those who have a real interest in high rates and in a weaker working class?

Twenty years ago a healthy popular interest in this and other economic questions kept a constant discussion going on in regard to them. If this had continued much good might have come from it, for it is impossible for such discussion, if it does not stop too soon, to fail to bring out some truth. Today there is seldom to be heard anywhere any real argument about whether the tariff is a help or a hindrance; only a question of just how high, or, still more often, just how much higher, the rates should be. That complacency with the general principle of protection has nowhere been more in evidence than at the last convention of the American Federation of Labor at Toronto in October of 1929. The majority of the leading representatives of organized labor in the United States are either indifferent toward a high tariff or positively in favor of it. This suggests the wisdom of once more examining the effects which the tariff actually has on the wages, the security, and the bargaining power of labor.

At the outset, let it be clear that the question here concerns the protective principle only and not a revenue measure which includes a tax on imports. The tariff is often defended on the ground that even though it does cost the consumer something, the government is getting revenue and so the taxes which the consumer would otherwise have to pay are reduced. But on second thought it is evident that this notion does not correspond to the facts: protection to domestic producers is given only to the extent that foreign goods are kept out, whereas revenue is received by the government only to the extent that goods are brought in. Revenue without protec-

tion may be obtained by a tax which is not high enough to encourage domestic production; by an equal tax on domestic and imported goods; or by the prohibition of domestic production of the goods on which the duty is levied.

Among the numerous arguments that have been presented from time to time in support of the tariff, that which is commonly known as the "vested interests argument" has been increasing in importance until it now occupies not only the center of the stage, but almost the entire stage in the debates on tariff revision.

It is interesting to notice that this argument was once used chiefly against lowering the tariff, (since that would lessen profits and possibly wages in the protected industry, and thus cause loss to those who had invested their capital or their labor in that industry); but it is being used in a more positive way as a reason for actually increasing the tariff in order to protect that capital and labor invested in an industry from the increasingly severe competition from foreign producers.

Before a tariff law is passed on such grounds, several questions ought to be raised:

Protection for Profits

(1) Is there a real danger of serious losses from foreign competition, or is "protection" really demanded in order to increase profits in an already profitable industry? When some of the Senators in Washington had the audacity recently to insist on an answer to this question, it was discovered that some of the most urgent demands for increases in rates came from the most profitable industries: e. g.—chemicals, steel, sugar, aluminum. Notice also the difference between the effect on the profits and that on the wages in such cases. While it is true that wages would undoubtedly fall or unemployment occur, or both, in case of a serious loss in any industry, it does not follow that wages and the volume of employment would necessarily increase if profits increase. Every trade unionist knows (better than many economists seem to know) that the fact a company is making profits does not mean that it is raising wages or hiring more men. The huge profits of

the United States Steel Corporation have not brought high wages; the highly protected beet sugar industry pays wages that are notoriously low.

Why Special Favors?

(2) But even if there are losses, does it necessarily follow that the losers are entitled to special compensation, special protection? On what grounds are they entitled to discrimination as against other groups of citizens? Those who lose as a result of their failure to be able to meet domestic competition are not repaid. Is there any particular virtue attaching to one Pennsylvania manufacturer whose competitors happen to be in England that makes him more worthy of special governmental aid than his neighbor whose competitors are located in Indiana? As for labor, it is quite as likely to have its wages cut or its employment lessened by the competition of other Americans as by that of workers in Europe.

Other causes of unemployment are still more important than either of these: cyclical fluctuations in business and the too rapid introduction of machinery. Why is it that so few, if any, of those employers and politicians who are so concerned about the unemployment that may result from foreign competition never seem in the least concerned about the more serious unemployment from domestic causes? Then there is that vastly larger group of citizens whose only interest in the tariff is the consumers'—the bill they have to pay. They talk much less than the manufacturers; are they on that account to be discriminated against? Yet that is what happens: those producers, whether manufacturers, farmers, or wage-earners, who are not given protection against losses from competition are obviously not being treated on a par with those given such protection. And every consumer of tariff-protected products (the exceptions are so rare they are not worth discussing) is being charged a tax, in the form of the higher prices he pays, in order that the protected industry may receive a bounty, in the form of the higher prices it receives.

This last statement calls for extra comment because there seems to be a

widespread notion that the tariff costs nothing,—has no effects except to increase profits. And this notion is fostered by such statements as that of Secretary of Labor Davis, at the Toronto Convention of the American Federation of Labor, when he said, "In 1922 there was opposition to the tariff on the ground that it would increase the costs of production. The costs have decreased. It was said that the duties then proposed would raise prices. And prices have steadily fallen. It was said that the tariff would cut down imports. Our imports have vastly increased." The three facts cited to disprove the assertions are indisputable, but they have no necessary relation to those assertions. Whether prices rise or fall depends on a multitude of factors; so the mere fact that prices were falling during a period of high tariff, tells us precisely nothing about the effect of the tariff. We must examine the tariff itself. A tariff has the sole function of discouraging imports. It does this by requiring the consumer to pay higher prices for the imported products than he would otherwise have to pay. If the foreign producers were to lower their prices so that these added duties were the same as the former prices, domestic producers would be in exactly the same position as before: they would not be "protected." This rarely happens, however; prices are almost certain to rise and imports to be curtailed, and thus there is left a clearer field for domestic producers. It is because, and only because, the latter can sell their goods more easily and at higher prices that they want the tariff. If the tariff does not raise prices above what they would otherwise be, it is giving no protection; if it does not lessen imports below what they would otherwise be, it cannot raise prices.

Subsidy vs. Tariff

(3) If, in spite of all this, we do want to prevent loss to those who have in good faith invested their money or their skill in an industry which is unable to stand competition, is the tariff the best means of accomplishing this? It is the traditional way, but certainly not the only way. A subsidy to the weak industry would accomplish precisely the same results; and labor could be protected from serious loss during a transitional period by unemployment insurance. Both these means are worth examining.

The most important differences between a subsidy and a tariff are our more definite knowledge of the cost of the former; our constant awareness

of that cost; and the distribution of that cost. The first two of these facts probably account for the greater popularity of the tariff; we have been taxed without being fully aware of it, sometimes without knowing anything about it, except perhaps as we realized that the cost of living was very high. And politicians have adopted it because of that popular indifference. It would seem, however, that between two policies, the cost of one of which is easily and definitely measurable while that of the other is very difficult to measure at all, the former would be the more desirable, unless the cost were considerably higher. As a matter of fact, the cost of subsidy would be at least no higher, and probably lower, than that of a tariff. This rise in price measures the amount of the protection given to domestic producers. Since we do not know exactly how much higher the price is than it would be without the tariff, we do not know just how much protection we are giving. Consequently we sometimes give more than is necessary to accomplish the result aimed at, or continue it unnecessarily long, and so pay more than we would be likely to pay in the form of a subsidy. Furthermore, the cost of collecting customs duties and of preventing imports from coming in without paying is tremendous; undoubtedly more than the administrative cost of paying a subsidy.

Burdening the Consumer

The other difference between a subsidy and a tariff is equally important: the incidence of the cost. If, for example, it should be decided that the growing of beets for sugar is an industry without which American civilization would be a failure, and that there would be no such industry without the aid of the government, the cost of such aid might be imposed on the consumers, in proportion to the amounts consumed, or it might be divided among all citizens in the same ways that the general expenses of government are apportioned. If the industry is to be supported for the general good, it seems rather obvious that it is fairer for the burden to be

READY WITH REPRISALS



New York Times

Other nations are prepared to throw their retaliatory rocks, as Canada has already done.

borne by the nation as a whole rather than by the consumers of a single product. The fact that this product, sugar, is consumed by practically every person in the country makes the case in no way less clearly in favor of the subsidy. A family with an income of \$1,200 a year consumes almost as much sugar as one with \$12,000. A tariff would thus impose almost as great a tax, in absolute amount, on the one as on the other, and the rate of taxation would be higher on the smaller income than on the larger. This is, of course, directly contrary to the general theory recognized in our income and inheritance taxes, that higher rates should be paid by the larger incomes.

When unemployment results from competition which cannot be met, provision ought to be made to prevent the suffering and want that so often result. But this provision ought to be made whether this unemployment is the result of domestic or foreign competition, and this the tariff does not and cannot do. It applies only in the case of foreign competition. Unemployment insurance, on the contrary, is a remedy (for it is a remedy as well as a relief) which works equally well whichever (or whatever) be the cause. It cannot be discussed here in any detail; but there has been enough experience with it in European countries to prove that it is fundamentally sound in principle and successful in operation.

High Tariff Does Not Raise Wages

The old argument that the general level of wages is raised by the tariff has been so often refuted that it is almost superfluous to mention it; yet it does persist. But most certainly a tariff cannot increase the skill of labor, the amount of capital, the amount and quality of the natural resources, the efficiency of management, or the bargaining power of labor relative to that of capital; and these are the factors which determine the general wage level. What it does do is to shift labor and capital from some industries to others. It does this by raising the prices of certain products, thus making it possible for those industries to compete with other domestic industries in bidding for labor and capital. That is, it raises the amount which those industries are able to pay as wages, up to the level that other industries are already paying; and similarly as to interest. At the same time it injures other industries by lessening their foreign markets: if we buy less from abroad (less than we otherwise would buy,—not necessarily less than we bought last year, and this the tariff makes us do if it is successful) then we can sell less abroad. We could give goods away, of course; and for a short time gold could be sent, and after that paper promises, but we can live on neither of these. Cutting down imports inevitably cuts down exports. (The automobile manufacturers are beginning to realize this and therefore to question the sacredness of the tariff.)

We cannot tell in advance and perhaps not afterwards, which of the many exporting industries are so affected, but it is absolutely certain that some of them are. (The fact that agricultural commodities have throughout our history constituted our most important exports and the fact that farmers lack the homogeneity and certain other qualities which seem to be possessed by manufacturers, account in large part for the ease with which manufacturers have obtained and maintained the high tariff.) This shifting of labor and capital might possibly result in a greater demand for labor and thus for the time being at least have a tendency to raise the general level of wages. This would be true if the industries encouraged demanded more labor in proportion to the fixed capital than did the industries which were discouraged. The most casual observation of the actual process of tariff making, however, will quickly convince one that that object

has never yet been the goal of American tariff policy. The public has recently learned enough about how tariff schedules are actually made from the Lobby Investigation Committee's exposure of the work of Messrs. Eyan-son, Grundy, Arnold, and others, to make it unnecessary to go into any details. Certainly the present Senator Grundy is not fighting for a tariff to strengthen the position of labor.

A single illustration of tariff rate-fixing in practice may be interesting, however. Under the rule which allows the President to raise or lower tariffs on the recommendation of the Tariff Commission, President Coolidge on October 17, 1928, advanced the rate by the maximum amount allowed, on fluorspar, a mineral used in the manufacture of steel. The interesting feature is that the product is controlled in the United States almost entirely by two companies, one of which is owned by the Mellon interests, the other by the McLeans of Washington. In neither case does it appear that the domestic producer was in danger of great losses, or that if such had been the case, it would have resulted in injury to the public. If this tariff increase is at all effective, it will mean increased profits to the McLeans and the Mellons, but certainly it cannot be regarded as a boon to labor, either in its intent or its result. And it is fairly typical of tariff schedules in general.

How Old Is An Infant?

The claim that the tariff would be used to promote new industries through the period of their "infancy" is less often heard in these times. When it is heard, however, the same sort of questions and some others besides should be applied to that claim as to the one we have just been discussing; such other questions as whether politicians are generally considered to be more accurate and more far-sighted in forecasting the future of industry than are the capitalists; and how long the "infancy" of an industry is to last. The demand for the diversification of industry for cultural reasons is, of course, out of date for such a country as the United States; and the same demand for military purposes, while never very important in as large and as resourceful a nation as this, can certainly not be given much weight since the acceptance of the Kellogg Peace Pact. But if there is thought to exist a need for artificial aid on these grounds, what has been said about the subsidy applies here with particular emphasis.

With the recognition that the doctrine of *laissez-faire* is going out of fashion, there seems to be some confusion of the principle of protection of labor by labor legislation with that of protection of corporations by tariff walls. The two notions look much alike, but they are essentially different. The former is based on the facts that the welfare of society depends on the health and well-being of its members, most of whom are workers, and that the worker is unequal in bargaining power to the corporation. Tariff protection, on the other hand, is a shielding of one group of corporations from another group, not because the latter is more powerful and likely to be unscrupulous in the use of its power, but merely because it happens to be in foreign countries. This is obviously a very different sort of thing.

Then the claim is made that labor too may be protected against the foreign producer and the low wage rate of most foreign countries; and that protection of this sort is the same as protection against those in this country who, without legislation, would be willing, or required, to work under dangerous and unhealthful conditions. There is some point to this, but three major qualifications will reduce it to small proportions. In the first place, the greater part of the differences between the wage rates of this country and those abroad is due, not to the low standard of living, but to the lower productivity of labor. Labor cost per unit of product is very often higher abroad. (It is true that the standard of living may in turn have some effect on the productivity, but the principal cause of low productivity in Europe is the scarcity of natural resources as compared to those in this country. In the Far East it is lack of capital and organization. The standard of living is, in the main, the result, rather than the cause.) In the second place, a tariff wall around the United States, by making it harder for the producers in other countries to sell their goods here, would tend to depress the standards of wages and conditions in those countries still further, and thus help to make the status of labor abroad worse rather than better. In turn this would make the competition more severe,—and a vicious circle would be set up from which the tariff could never offer any means of escape. Finally, the notion of protecting American wage-earners by legislation against the competition of foreign labor is somewhat ludicrous in

(Continued on page 28)



Locomotive Engineers' Journal

CLASS in machine age arithmetic, attention! With population increasing 15 per cent every ten years and one man doing in 1925 the work done by three men in 1914, how long will it be before the increased population will find out that at the present ratio of its own growth, combined with the increased efficiency of the machine, two thirds of it will not be wanted in future production and distribution and, therefore, should either go and bury themselves somewhere or else migrate to some other planet still in the stage of handicraft development?

Class in modern psychological statesmanship, attention! Analyze the power of suggestion in the solution of modern problems as applied by governmental authorities. Show how President Hoover's suggestion to employers and corporations not to reduce wages or increase hours, averted hard times and enabled us to live in perpetual and undisturbed prosperity. Also observe how Miss Perkins, New York State industrial commissioner, is following President Hoover's footsteps by suggesting that employers withhold the introduction of machinery until an attempt is made to secure work for displaced employees. Show how, without doubt, because of the sound psychological principles involved, demonstrating the superiority of a wish-mentality over so-called economic laws, Miss Perkins will succeed in the same remarkable manner that Pres. Hoover has done.

"No person who will take the time to investigate the suffering and hardships being endured at this time by some of our so-called technologically unemployed

The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT

can be against old age pensions and unemployment insurance," declares the Locomotive Engineers Journal. "Looking at the present unemployment problem through rosecolored glasses is not going to help solve this extremely serious problem." Nor is the belief that modern problems are all a matter of mental attitude. Economic reality must be reckoned with.

* * *

"The Butter & Cheese Journal," Milwaukee, is booming in its news pages a new automatic butter wrapping and cartoning machine that increases the productivity of labor almost six times the former rate. With the machine a crew of four men can wrap in quarter portions and carton 12,600 lbs. of butter in eight hours without being pushed. This is at the rate of 3,150 lbs. per man. The old speed was 540 lbs. per man. The saving in floor space—important in big cities—is three and one third times. The men crowded out by this new invention go to swell the unemployed.

* * *

The March of the Machine is summarized by A. W. Castle, Director Adult Extension Education, State of Pennsylvania, as follows:

"In 1925, one man was doing the work done by 3.1 men in 1914. Score one for machinery in that decade. From 1919 to 1927, a period of eight years, the number of wage earners in industry increased 3 per cent and our production increased 50 per cent—and this in spite of our rapidly growing population. Another touch-down for the machine age.

"In 1900, 200 unskilled laborers found work at shoveling on one job. Today they sit idly by and watch one giant steam shovel do the same job in less time.

"The wheat crop harvested in the United States last year would have required, 45 years ago, at least 20,000,000 more men.

"Prior to 1910, all glass tubing was made by skilled glass blowers. Today one machine takes the place of 600 of those men.

"Previously, shoes were made almost exclusively by hand, employing thousands of workmen. Today, invention has installed machinery which eliminates over 90 per cent of that labor cost and

9 out of 10 of those men are out of a job.

"Prior to 1919, one man could make about 75 electric light bulbs in one day. In 1920, an automatic machine was perfected which produced 73,000 electric light bulbs every 24 hours, displacing 994 men for each machine installed.

"More recent improvements have more than doubled this phenomenal capacity. Each of these machines now displaces 2,000 men.

"The march of progress sacrifices annually thousands of skilled workers and common laborers. Ruthless industrial competition installs 100 machines, and 25,000 workmen are added to the army of the unemployed. Probably willing workers most of them; certainly in need of an honest day's work, all of them; face to face with an economic condition they cannot understand."

* * *

At Newton Falls, Ohio, eight men now turn out 200,000 pounds of steel a day, where 5½ tons a day used to be a man's quota in a steel mill.

* * *

The President of the International Harvester Co., announces progress in experiments on cotton picking machines by the company's engineers. This means, eventually, displacement of thousands of low-wage workers in the South. Talk about Mexican immigration, how about mechanical immigrants that are moving into the South from Chicago, headquarters of the Harvester trust! Will Congress take any action regarding them?

* * *

The "New York Times" recently published an article from Washington, claiming that the activity of inventors is swamping the patent office. Enough devices are awaiting sanction to occupy its staff for the next six years. If the only thing that happened was the swamping of the patent office, all would be well. But look at the other things that are swamped—the workers in industry, for instance. They are literally drowned by this flood of inventive activity. And it doesn't await sanction by society, either. The only thing that will stop it, apparently, will be its loss to capital, when it makes displacement of old equipment too costly an investment. That seems far off.

It Happens But Once

By ROSA PESOTTA

TWO abresht—keep moving, only two abresht," the cop orders a group of workers who came early to picket their shop on strike.

The strikers stand in groups of four and five in the front of the building and shout:

"This shop is on strike! Workers! Do not go up to work there! The boss has locked us out for demanding better conditions!"

A modern building on Seventh Avenue, in the heart of the Garment Centre, people going in and out, one can not distinguish new faces. Last night, however, a young girl came up to the union office. She presented herself as one of those who came up to work recently, not knowing that the shop was on strike. Later she did learn it from the pickets in front of the building and the mysterious behaviour of those within. She decided to remain for a few days, get all necessary information, and later join the strikers. Her father, a union man himself, gave her that advice.

Hence this morning the new striker reported early on picket duty. She knows that at a certain time an automobile will bring a few scabs to the shop. The car will be guarded by some strong-arm men—so she too wants to take a hand in preventing them from going up.

The cop would not allow them to remain for a second at the doors:

"Move on, get movin', come along," he shouts to them, shoving them about from place to place.

"We are moving, don't you see?" retorts one.

"Now don't talk and do what you are ordered—only two abresht. Hey there, come on back out of that door!"

All are excited, but nothing can dissuade him from executing his orders. Luckily the captain left a while ago and he is the only one on the beat.

A new group of pickets are approaching—the others rush towards them. They hold a short conference on the corner of the pavement, and shortly one of the new comers leaves the group walking directly towards the cop.

"Good morning, officer. How is picketing this morning?"

"Alright, but youse girls will either obey orders or I'll lock youse up!"

"Why, officer, we know the rules and regulations of picketing. Here they are, direct from the police commissioner!"

She pulls out a typewritten sheet from her brief-case and tosses it in front of his nose. Somewhat shocked at the boldness of the girl he takes it and reads with his lips.

"Yeah, you have them alright, but look here, they can not stand in front of the building, down there, blocking the traffic. Them are my orders! Go ahead and tell your pickets to move on, not in fours, but only two abresht!"

"Good, officer, we'll comply with *your* orders." She walks off to the rest and soon they start marching in pairs. The girl walks back towards the cop.

"You see, here we are, all coupled up! See for yourself we are not disrupters as others try to make out of us—friends of yours as well as we are friends of those taking our places upstairs."

"Oh, stop kiddin'," he smiles shyly.

"No, officer, I am not kidding. What do you thing the strike is about? There is no fun in a strike! Don't you see these girls are demanding better conditions—the employer refused to grant them—so they struck! Everybody has a right to stop working if conditions are bad. Even policemen do it once in awhile. Remember the police strike in Boston? Remember what happened? If it had not been for the Harvard students who went to do police duty instead of the regular police, the strike would have been a big success. I was in Boston then, and used to come to the meeting hall of the strikers. We used to arrange mass-meetings for them, one was held here in Cooper Union and Officer O'Brien addressed the gathering. Did you ever meet officers McCarthy and O'Brien?"

He answers with a shake in the negative, but the names of McCarthy and O'Brien work magic. The sound of those two names bring before his eyes two real, husky Irish cops. The little funnel in the left corner of his

mouth spreads out into a pair of thin, pale, smiling lips. He loosens up a little and is ready to listen. She on her side does not lose time and keeps on chatting about the glorious Boston police strike and about the then governor, Coolidge, whose only achievement in life was to break that strike, for which he got the nomination for vice-presidency. Thus she gradually disappears with him around the corner.

The pickets meanwhile do not lose time. Now that the cop is safely off the block, they cluster around the doors, shouting "Scab" and other names. Presently an automobile stops in front of the building. All dash toward the car, out of which steps a guard leading a frail woman with many bundles; a younger woman and two girls follow her. Another guard comes after them. These guards had met the women near a subway station to escort them to the striking shop. Those are the workers the strikers are so anxious to persuade to join them.

A commotion near the doors—the husky guards leading the women, pushing their way into the building—the strikers blocking their way, shouting and screaming. Umbrellas, fists, books, handbags—everything is set in motion—the strikers fighting desperately for their rights—the scabs for their lives. Someone shouts "Police," "Help." In a moment a large crowd gathers around them and one can not distinguish in the mass one from the other. Finally, the guards, through sheer physical force, succeed in bringing their women into the building.

Cries of "Police" reach the ears of the cop around the corner. Forgetting about the glorious Boston strike, he rushes towards the main entrance leaving behind his seductive story-teller. He came on time. The guards have already planted their charges in the shop and came out to make arrests. The pickets en-masse are arrested and shoved into the building until a patrol wagon calls for them.

The strikers are desperate. Again fines! Only yesterday a group of pickets were fined and it is in the same court and the same judge on

(Continued on page 20)

Millinery Workers Celebrate 20th Anniversary

AFTER passing through many vicissitudes that would have wrecked a less hardy organization, Millinery Workers' Union, No. 24, of the Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union has just celebrated its 20th anniversary with a banquet at Beethoven Hall, New York City, at which about 1,000 were present.

The story of the ups and downs of this remarkable organization is an epic which its officers and active members delight in telling. Among them is Nathaniel Spector, manager of the union, who joined it as a youth in 1910, plunged into the organization work and in less than two years became an officer of the union.

He recalls the first five years as the hardest, when the union struggled to obtain a foothold in the industry. They faced the bitter hostility of the employers and the indifference of the workers.

"In 1910 most of the women workers who made the elaborate hats that women were wearing then, came from New England and southern Europe as seasonal workers. They invaded the shops on the lower east side and remained only for the duration of the season," Spector explains.

"The prospect of reorganizing them every year was no encouraging reflection," he relates. "As a matter of fact the first five years of our activity were a constant struggle to keep the vision of the union alive and to educate the women to class conscious consideration of their problems as millinery workers instead of women who made hats part of each year.

"By 1915, with four years of gruelling work back of us, interest had been aroused in unionism, and the 5,000 members then enrolled were so eager for improvement of conditions that spontaneous individual shop strikes occurred in great numbers. A few had to succeed, but the bosses beat fully 98 per cent of them. By the end of the year, manufacturers wearied of battling their workers and began to take us into working agreements. In five years our local and locals 42, 43 and 50 practically covered the industry. Wages were forced up from 15 to 30 per cent and working hours decreased from 60 to 48 hours a week."

By 1919 the union felt vigorous enough to gain further ground. When the bulk of the agreements expired that year the union called a general strike. Its purpose was to organize the trade from top to bottom. With industrial unionism as its ideal the strike

which lasted 19 weeks saw not only retail stores picketed but the attempt made to organize the shipping clerks. "We spent \$250,000 and lost the strike," Spector admits. "Police and scabs — women scabs — broke that strike.

"Over 900 frame makers who struck in sympathy saw their whole industry crash when, on the heels of this defeat, the introduction of felt hats began. As for us, where five workers had been required to make a hat such as had been worn, one worker could turn out a felt hat, and in less time. Workers, practically starving at the end of the strike, begged for jobs. With only one-fifth as much work to do, and plenty of hungry experts to do it, the bosses yellow dogged workers, slashed wages, reverted to old conditions, and it looked like finis had been written on our union.

"All through 1921 and '22, with workers literally running when they saw a union official on the street, reorganization was a slow and thankless job. The women were a hopeless problem. Our tactics were to go to homes night after night, and when some stranger to the trade optimistically launched out making the new style felt hats we approached him. If he knew little enough about our late defeat we had a chance to break in."

If ever there was a time that tried union men's souls this was it. But the heroic men who had held the union together until then would not quit—they refused to accept defeat.

For two or three years they held on without making any headway, the employers showing an ever greater determination not to recognize the union. Then, in 1922, the union announced a slogan which caught the imagination of the rank and file. It was: "Union recognition by the workers first." The response was amazing. Members flocked into the union once again. Coached by the union's officers, the members elected shop chairmen and shop committees. Through their solidarity in the shops they forced wages up and established the 24 hour week. Even to this day there are no agreements between the union and the employers. But the workers enjoy union conditions and the union is strong.

In 1926 hard times came. Changes in the industry threw thousands of workers out of employment. And then four months ago conditions improved — workers were in demand. Again the progressive spirit inculcated in the workers by the union proved itself.

The workers went back to the shops, insisted on decent, union conditions, and got them. It was not necessary to rebuild the union—the workers knew where they belonged. It was another magnificent tribute to the confidence the members have in their union and in their officers.

LABOR AGE is happy to congratulate the Millinery Workers' Union, assured that the progressive and militant spirit which has animated its officers and rank and file up to now, with such good results, will continue to carry it towards its goal of emancipation.

IT HAPPENS BUT ONCE

(Continued from page 19)

the bench. They hold a little conference before entering the court room. Something has to be done.

Within an hour they are brought into the court-room.

All stand in a semi-circle before the judge, the policemen between the strikers and the guards, who came as witnesses for the employer.

"Case of Stella Smith and the rest," calls out the official, "charged with disorderly conduct, etc., etc."

He reads a long list of charges. The defendants plead not guilty.

"Did you shout 'scab'?" asks the court of Stella Smith, who is heading the list of arrested.

"No, sir! I passed by, going to my office. Seeing so many people in front of a building on the avenue I also stopped to see what it was all about. Being late I called a CAB—but was arrested."

"Are you a striker of that shop?"

"No, sir!"

The cop turns around to find his talkative companion answering naively the questions.

"Officer! Did you hear her shout 'scab'?"

Recalling the story of the Boston police strike he assumes an official air and answers firmly:

"No, *Your Honor!*"

"Suspended sentence. Next case."

The strikers dismissed, file out. On the street the cop turns around and pulling his conspicuously white glove on a red large wrist, asks with one corner of his mouth:

"Well, what do you say now? O. K."

"Sure," all answer in a chorus. "It happens once in a life-time, but thanks for your co-operation! So long—we'll meet you on the picket line!"

Unemployment Insurance

—The Next Step

MEMBERS and friends of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action will celebrate the first anniversary of the founding of the organization when they will gather at a dinner arranged for that purpose on June 3. Appropriately enough the dinner will be held at the Consumers Cooperative restaurant in New York City where the environment will give concrete evidence to one of the planks in the progressive program—the fostering of the cooperative movement in the United States.

The progressives are to celebrate on this occasion not only the successful ending of one year of effort, but under such congenial arrangement, pledge their enthusiastic support to the expanded activities planned for the year ahead. Those too far away to be present can enter into the spirit of the event by responding as quickly as possible to the letters mailed them from the national office, calling for their wholehearted support for the coming twelve months.

The dinner, in addition to the good food which is a thing taken for granted in a cooperative restaurant, will be garnished with some fine speech-making, for part of the evening will be devoted to a discussion of the situation in India and Gandhi's efforts to free the country from Britain's rule. Leading spokesmen for India's independence will present the case for freedom. Sailendra Nath Ghose, President of the American branch of the Indian Nationalist Congress and J. Vijaya-Tunga, formerly on the staff of the Tagore School in India and at present lecturer and writer on Indian affairs in the United States, will give their version of the struggle. Dr. John H. Lathrop, eminent Unitarian Minister recently returned from India, will tell how a liberal American views the situation.

That should be enough to make the event an outstanding affair. But, added to these pleas for Indian independence will be the voice of Louis F. Budenz, Managing Editor of *LABOR AGE*, for independence of American masses from the domination of Big Business. While India has foreign exploiters to be freed from, American workers have their own native brand to deal with. Budenz has a wide range of experience with this crew, and he will at this gathering bring forth his plans as to

how that should be done most effectively.

The readers of *LABOR AGE*, who will not be present at the dinner, should be given a hint, therefore, as to what Budenz will talk about. First let us announce that beginning with June, Louis Budenz will be added to the active staff of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. For a number of years he was "loaned" to the American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery workers in their need for a man who could tackle the problem of organization in a big way. What he has accomplished in those years need not be repeated here, for every metropolitan newspaper, every town 'Bugle' and every weekly in the farthest flung corners of America carried columns of "stuff" about his experiences with "Law and Order," with injunctions, with the long arm of capitalistic dictatorship. He beat them every time and wherever he was present to muster the forces of labor, the courts, the employers and their under-cover men were left with wounds to nurse that are long in healing.

Announce National Campaign

Louis Budenz will announce the opening of a national campaign by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action for Unemployment Insurance. Within recent years the American public was made conscious of the plight of its aged. Legislators in many States suddenly came to realize the threadbareness of civilization in a country boasting of its wealth as America does, but permitting its soldiers of industry, weak and aged in the struggle of existence, to live or die in the best manner they could. The social conscience suddenly awakened to the horror of our primitive attitude. In some tribes in darkest Africa it used to be the custom to exile the old and feeble members who could no longer take care of themselves to the jungles where the wild beasts soon made an end to their misery. We in America are exiling our old and feeble workers to the jungles of poverty, the bread lines, hunger and county poorhouses. But while there was some excuse for the Africans in their cruel act because of the limited food supply of the tribe, what excuse is there for America, the wealthiest nation in history, to act similarly?

Unemployment the Big Problem

Unemployment today is becoming just as grievous a problem as old age dependency ever was. Only it is worse, for it makes helpless and desperate men and women in their prime of life who under a condition of civilization should be at the peak of social leadership. On another page in this issue is presented concretely an evidence of our great American institution, "The Bread Line." Notice the dominance of young people in that lineup. Notice the shifting gait, apparent even in a "still"; their mien of helplessness. What civilization can be built on such foundation when the core of its integrity, large portions of young and virile members of its society, are continually and periodically subjected to the shame and degradation of charity in order to subsist?

Professor Paul Douglas, of Chicago University, and at present acting director of the Swarthmore College unemployment study, stated both at the commencement exercises at Brookwood Labor College and at a meeting of the American Statistical Association held at the Aldine Club on Friday, May 23, that "Unemployment has proved a steady and ineradicable feature of the present economic system, and this country will be compelled to adopt unemployment insurance as a means of alleviating distress, similar to the systems in vogue in Europe."

According to the results of Prof. Douglas' studies, he concludes that throughout our industrial history we have always had more workers unemployed in proportion to our industrial population, than any other country, the average for the four major industries—manufacturing, transportation, construction and mining—being 10 per cent. Even England, which today has the greatest unemployment problem of all, has a percentage of about 11, a trifle higher than the average number of unemployed in average years.

Taking these facts into consideration, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action has decided to concentrate on agitation for unemployment insurance in particular charge of Louis Budenz. Every means possible will be utilized to spread the idea. Meetings before factory mill gates, night street corner meetings, literature dis-

tribution and agitation within the ranks of organized labor will be the methods followed.

There is no doubt that there is great opposition at the present time to the idea of unemployment insurance. All the need, therefore, for more work in that direction. But just as old age pensions changed from a "foreign importation" to the "need of the hour" in the course of a few years, so will the ideas of unemployment insurance become a popular slogan if enough agitation is worked up for it. The American Federation of Labor is at present opposed to unemployment insurance. But it will change its mind on that issue as it did on old age pensions as soon as the progressives get behind the C. P. L. A. program and arouse public opinion in its behalf.

With this agitation for unemployment insurance will also be tied up the other points in the C. P. L. A. program. Budenz will especially direct the "organization department" of the Conference, as explained in the last issue of LABOR AGE.

A Special Appeal

The wider program of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action should enlist every member and friend in its behalf. The national office is confident that the excellent support given the C. P. L. A. in the past will be augmented by even greater support in the future. For this reason, knowing that our activities must appeal to every liberal and progressively minded person sincerely interested in the growth of the social consciousness in America as a whole and in the Labor Movement in particular, it issued a special appeal for assistance which the readers of LABOR AGE will have received by the time this issue reaches their homes. Do not wait for a more opportune time to answer it. It may never come. Do it at once. Sit down, just as if you were ready to make out an income tax blank, if you are in that fortunate category, figure out your income, carefully as well as expenses, and determine as exactly as you know how, the amount you can contribute to the progressive cause during the coming year. You are given an opportunity to help not only by contributing in a lump sum at once but by making monthly or quarterly payments in accordance with your best convenience.

Your answer will be the best order for us for full steam ahead in carrying out our program. The question no longer is whether we are needed but how much can we do? And of course, your pledge cards will determine that. We feel that we have the

most important work to perform undertaken by any group within the Labor Movement. And if you will carefully weigh our economic and political status, the general industrial situation and the various organizations working within the American scene, you will agree with our viewpoint.

So now we shall give the members of the C. P. L. A., their friends and readers of LABOR AGE and their friends the right of way. The office will be anxiously checking the returns coming in as a gauge for C. P. L. A. activities. Shall we throw the throttle wide open?

Philadelphia

There has been quite a fuss raised in Philadelphia over the attitude of the local branch of the C. P. L. A. regarding the political astuteness of the Philadelphia Labor Movement. Now that the results are known the situation stacks up something like this; Davis, whom Labor endorsed not because they wanted him but because they didn't like Grundy, his opponent, is elected Senator. Pinchot, whom labor didn't endorse, is elected Governor. Davis is a high tariff, Hoover Republican who can be counted on to be friendly to labor only if Hoover will O. K. such a move. Pinchot is an independent Republican who certainly should have been endorsed, even following out the A. F. of L. best non-partisan policy tradition. On the other hand, if the Philadelphia laborites had followed the advice of Joseph Schwartz, Chairman of the Philadelphia C. P. L. A., and had come out

Bedford, after a sojourn at Brookwood, has interesting comment to make of the general situation in that center of progressive labor activity.

"In the New Bedford Labor circles," he writes, "everything is dated from the six months strike of 1928. True some of the history of the local runs back over more than a century; but present labor condition are really something scarcely two years old.

"As a result of the connections established with the rest of the labor movement, the end of the strike saw the beginning of a new spirit. Thrown into affiliation with the United Textile Workers during the strike the rank and file soon developed a loyalty that must have surprised even the most hardened leaders. The rank and file were glad to become a part of the main current of American labor. Here and there, even now a survival of the old localism bobs up temporarily to obstruct the present tendency, which is decidedly more and more national rather than local in its outlook.

"A second result of the strike was to extend the field of organization. Hitherto unskilled workers had been *permitted* to join the union. Since the strike there have been constant efforts to induce them to join. Even during periods of depression, when nearly a third of the operatives have no work at all the union is extending its field of organization to include maintenance men and others not directly textile workers.

"A third result of the strike was the formation of a branch of the Women's Trade Union League. This organization has changed the women and now they have something definite to do in the Labor Movement.

"The most important results of the strike was the formation of a Labor Party which last fall affiliated with the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. The Labor Party is backed by every A. F. of L. local in the city, by the Women's Trade Union League and by two labor fraternal organizations. Although in practice the affairs of immediate issue are settled by vote of the individual "associate" members, ultimate control rests with the delegates of the affiliated unions and fraternal organizations.

"As the Labor Party has never adopted a platform, there is always a chance that it will swing either to the left or to the right. This was, in part, intentional, in order that all unionists might be told that: "As long as your views are pro labor, we

LOUIS
F.
BUDENZ
Who is
directing
the
C. P. L. A.
Unemployment
Insurance
Drive



definitely for independent political action, they certainly would have been in no worse fix than they are now and could have been in a far stronger position.

New Bedford

Donald A. Thompson, who has just returned to his native heath in New

THE MODERN JUGGERNAUT



Drawn for Labor Age by Herbert Heasley
Unemployment insurance can in some measure
protect the defenceless workers from
its deprivations.

welcome you into the Labor Party and want you to help determine its policy. Curiously enough in its constitution the preamble is lifted bodily from that of the British Independent Labor Party, including the part which reads, to cooperate with the Labor and Socialist organizations in other countries.

"As a result this lack of definiteness of policy there have been but few conflicts between the localists and those who feel that New Bedford is only part of a larger movement. For the time being the localists seem to be in a majority on the Executive Board. The general outlook of the active members appears to be in the other direction.

"The party is fortunate in having as its principal secretary W. L. Walmsley, a veteran of the British Cooperative Movement and one of the most active of the volunteer workers in the 1928 strike. Of no less importance is the attitude of the President of the Party. Charles Lavimoniere is one whose interest in labor was not dampened by arrest on the picket line, by the blacklist and by the hostility of some of his own union officials. Lavimoniere is one of the six Labor members of the New Bedford City Council.

"The growing interest of the official Labor Movement in the Party is shown by the presence of Abraham Binns and George Sander-son, two of New Bedford's most prominent labor officials, on the Executive Board.

"The general situation in New Bedford may be summed up as follows: The entire Labor Movement is retarded by a state of semi-starvation which hangs over a large part of the people. The general tendency is progressive, with a large but comparatively unorganized right wing minority within the organizations. Two Communist groups, in a rival series of organizations, are doing their best to exterminate each other and forgetting the presence of all non-communist groups in the city. And finally, there remains a scheming, watchful, Democratic-Republican administration, ready to go to any extremes to retain its power.

"New Bedford presents a thrilling situation from the Progressive standpoint."

Rhode Island

In Rhode Island the workers have recently had an opportunity to express their sentiments regarding independent political action and exactly half of the delegates present at the convention of the Rhode Island State Federation of Labor voted in favor of a Labor Party. This opportunity for registering labor opinion on political action was made possible by John M. Gancz, a member of the International Association of Machinists and a thorough progressive. He is affiliated with the C. P. L. A.

At a meeting of his machinists' lodge, prior to the holding of the Federation convention he introduced the following resolution:

WHEREAS: The old political parties in this country have both come under the control of big business and the financial interests of Wall Street, and in particular have become subservient to the public utilities corporations; and

WHEREAS: These parties in city, state and nation have failed utterly to secure justice for labor in such fundamental matters as injunctions, yellow-dog contracts, observance of the pre-

vailing rate of wage law, insurance against the risks of old age, sickness and unemployment, fair play in strikes, etc.; and

WHEREAS: The trade unions in New Bedford, Mass., in Niagara Falls, N. Y., and in Erie County (Buffalo, N. Y.), have united to form labor parties to put candidates into the field for municipal, state and Congressional offices; and

WHEREAS: Independent political action on the part of workers has brought notable results during the past year in various sections of the country, such as New York City, Los Angeles, New Bedford, Mass., and Kenosha, Wis.; and

WHEREAS: A number of city central bodies and local unions in the State of New York which have gone on record in favor of the establishment of labor parties, are circularizing all trade union bodies in that state in an effort to determine the extent of sentiment for independent political action; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED: That the Executive Council of the Rhode Island Federation of Labor be instructed to draft a questionnaire to be sent to all local unions in this State with the view of discovering the extent of interest in the formation of a labor party and the prospects in various sections of the State; and further

BE IT RESOLVED: That a special conference be called not more than four months—in August—from this date to consider the replies received and the proper action to be taken by the trade unionists of this State and any others who may be interested in the formation of a labor party, in clean politics and in the promotion of progressive, economic and political policies in this State.

The lodge passed the resolution unanimously and then its delegate introduced it at the Federation convention. The vote for the resolution, which in effect would command the State Federation to take action towards the formation of a Labor Party, showed that exactly half the delegates were ready for a new political alignment and for the overthrow of the present non-partisan political policy. The resolution, however, was finally adopted after the last paragraph was eliminated.

Oklahoma City

Just to give a concrete instance of how the C. P. L. A. idea spreads, there is Leonard Craig, formerly State Director of workers education in Pennsylvania, who is rustling around working for the progressive program in Oklahoma City, Okla.

His first task was to get the molders organization, of which he is a member, to affiliate with the local Central Labor Union. Then he almost immediately induced the Central Labor Union to interest itself in a campaign for old age pensions.

Oklahoma City labor seems to be more interested in old line politics, at present, than in independent workers' political action, he reports. But if anything develops he is on hand to do his bit, is his encouraging conclusion.

We are certain that where Leonard Craig is there the progressive cause is very well served.

PROTEST USE OF FORCE IN INDIA

Immediately following the arrest and imprisonment of Gandhi by British military forces in India Chairman A. J. Muste issued a statement to the press which because of its forthrightness and timeliness received wide publicity and attention. C. P. L. A.'s anti-militaristic policy found expression during the past month not only in this statement but in another, which we also publish, on Briand's plan for a United States of Europe.

The statement on Gandhi's arrest follows:

The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi by a Government of India which is in the last analysis responsible to the British Cabinet headed by J. Ramsay MacDonald, is one of the major tragedies of our era.

It represents a tragic failure for the British Labor Party. When all allowances are made for the numerous complexities in the Indian situation, it still remains true that there has been an utter lack of vigor, imagination and originality in Ramsay MacDonald's handling of a situation with which he is supposed to have a very special acquaintance. To arrest Gandhi on a statute of 1827 and to put him in jail without a trial is the logical culmination of this woeful lack of policy. It is not clear that even a Tory government could have handled the situation more inefficiently and shamefully. Infinitely better if the British Labor Cabinet had concentrated its attention on working out a sound labor peace policy in India rather than on the sham naval limitation conference which absorbed so much of the world's time with such meagre results.

If the British Labor Cabinet without a clear majority in Parliament is in a position where it cannot act otherwise, then it would be much better to say that frankly and resign than to become a party to bloodshed for the maintenance

of British imperialism and the defeat of the aspirations of the people of India for independence.

For Ramsay MacDonald who a dozen years ago was hunted by mobs through British cities for his opposition to war now to throw a great fellow-pacifist into jail and to countenance violent measures for breaking up a campaign of non-violence marks the breakdown of an outstanding personality which leaves his friends powerless to say a word in his defense.

TARIFF BARRIERS ENDANGER PEACE

The publication by M. Briand, Foreign Minister of France, of his proposals for the organization of a "United States of Europe," is an event of great significance. The workers of the United States as well as of other countries will do well to study these proposals carefully and to watch the development of this Pan-European movement.

M. Briand seeks to put in the forefront of his proposition attractive and innocent ideas of political unity and world-peace. With his best efforts he cannot conceal the fact, however, that economic forces are back of the movement and that the ends sought are likewise primarily economic. In his own words, tariff barriers raised sky-high in Europe after the war must be lowered and "effective pursuit of a truly liberal tariff policy" achieved. The ideal would be "the creation of a common market" in Europe and "the rational organization of an European system of production and exchange, by means of the gradual liberation and methodical simplification of the circulation of goods, capital and persons under a single reserve." In other words, European economic life is to be rationalized, speeded up, unified.

Labor leaders and others in the United States who are following the lead of the great Grundy in seeking to put over the tariff monstrosity now before Congress should take note that this tariff proposal has unquestionably done a good deal toward assuring Briand's suggestion a friendly reception in Europe. Unifying the European market and enabling Europe thus to reap the benefits of mass production is a good way to answer the American effort to control Europe's economic life and the tariff which tries to shut Europeans out of the American market.

The fervent assurance from M. Briand to our own State Department that his plan is not directed against any nation, least of all against the United States, does not alter the facts. He doth protest too much! How can European na-

tions help trying to build up a defense against America's aggression and tariff selfishness and stupidity?

Labor will do well also not to entertain false hopes that the "United States of Europe" proposal is what it appears on its face to be, viz., a movement for peace. What is really happening is that several great super-national economic units are being built up in the world, which as things now stand will engage in intense economic warfare which is bound in time to end again in actual clash of arms. The Briand proposal is another warning to the workers that "the last war" is ahead of us — not behind us.

England is not in this "United States of Europe," but forms with her Dominions another combination which may or may not hold together. Asiatic nations are not in the proposed new union. The United States is not. Soviet Russia is not.

Little wonder that in a world thus organized for economic competition, the masses of the workers endure poverty, go jobless by the millions, and are driven repeatedly to the slaughter of war. If there is to be peace on earth, the workers must do away with an economic system controlled by a few, based on force, inequality and exploitation, and must develop their own world-commonwealth, a union not of capitalist nations, European or otherwise, but a union of peoples for mutual aid.

Annual Conference

*League for Industrial
Democracy*

June 26 to 29

**CAMP TAMIMENT,
Near Stroudsburg, Pa.**

Subject:

The Folly of Work Racketeering High and Low

Paul Blanshard, Chairman

The speakers will include: Heywood Broun, Stuart Chase, Paul Douglas, Abraham Epstein, John T. Flynn, Leon Henderson, Morris Hillquit, McAlister Coleman, H. S. Raushenbush, Donald Richberg, David Saposs, Benjamin Stolberg, Karl Scholz, Courtenay Terret, Norman Thomas and Charney Vladeck.

Among the subjects are: Gangs and Gangsters, Private Rights in Public Business, the High Cost of Ballyhoo, the Labor Racketeer, Pyramiding Land Values, the Folly of Work.

For further information, address
**LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL
DEMOCRACY**

112 East 19th Street New York City

In Other Lands

INDIA AND BRITAIN

The sins of the conquistadors and empire builders of three and four generations ago are now descending with all their fury on the unhappy head of Ramsay MacDonald and on his unfortunate colleague, Wedgewood Benn, Secretary of State for India in the Labor Cabinet. Premier MacDonald is experiencing the fate of well intentioned and liberal minded statesmen, now dim figures in the historic past, to be at the helm and place of power and thereby compelled to resist the revolutionary uprisings of peoples with whom he would under other circumstances be in sympathy.

MacDonald's trouble began with his blessing the Simon Commission and his agreeing to have Labor Party representation on it in spite of the protests of the Indian leaders who later boycotted the commission. His delay in publishing the report, while not entirely the Premier's fault, was the next serious blunder. The third and most unfortunate of all, for it seemed as if the Labor Government were trying to trick the Indians, was the invitation to the Indian leaders of all responsible groups to a round table conference without setting any date or even hinting at one. The last of all was not an administrative blunder nor a political error but a serious and calculated social and international crime, unpardonable for a man of MacDonald's views and traditions. I refer to the secret assurance given Lord Irwin, the British vice-roy of India, that he would have a free hand and that he was welcome to enforce law and order in the traditional way. It will be said that the bureaucrats in the India office forced the hands of the Premier and Mr. Benn and that they were caught in the tangled skeins of the Empire. If that is so then MacDonald's conduct is inexcusable, for that was precisely what happened when he first held office. Despite the warnings of no less a man than H. G. Wells, the author, not to let the permanent staffs in the Foreign and Colonial offices run him, the Premier allowed himself to be coiled up in the meshes of the red tape and nets so adroitly manipulated by Mr. Gregory, head of the Eastern division, with the resultant "Red Scare" and his party's defeat at the polls. MacDonald,

in his Indian policy, has shown that he has not profited by the past nor learned anything by his own mistakes. There is one difference between the "Red Scare" caused by the Zinovieff letter and the Indian policy of to-day. In the former case MacDonald and Labor went down in honorable defeat, while in the latter he is playing the oppressor to the shame of all lovers of liberty, and is making Labor Government a by-word besides doing incalculable harm.

The Tories and Liberals, imperialists all, will use his acts and words to justify their more brutal and unscrupulous acts of tyranny when they get control of the government.

It is a bad wind that blows no one

the money magnates but as in other things the middle class leaders did not agree with him.

The Left lost a great and sincere leader in John Wheatley. His passing away removes one of the great links of the past in Glasgow. He tried to work with MacDonald but as an I. L. P-er, a soap boxer and industrial socialist his heart was with the Clyde men rather than with the political socialists and moderates.

MacDonald is now holding office by the grace of the Liberals who do not want to give the Tories campaign leadership should a general election take place. Lloyd George is openly demanding his price—electoral reform. If he does not get it out MacDonald goes. If the situation in India gets out of Lord Irwin's hand both Tories and Liberals with the usual British united front tradition when there is serious trouble abroad will support MacDonald for the remainder of the term. An unpleasant prospect for socialists and pacifists.

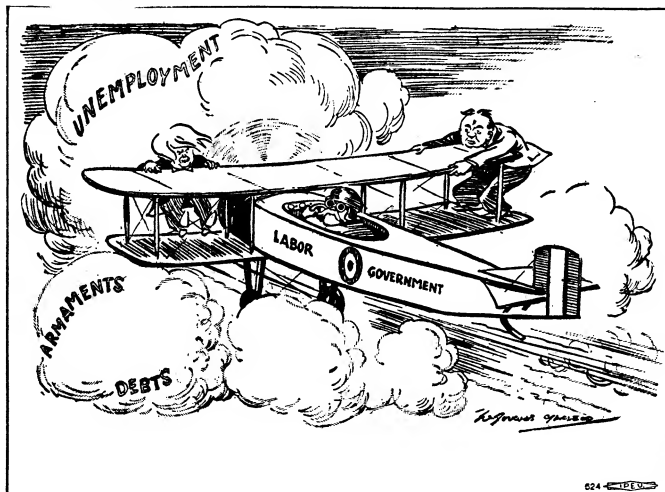
The government lost its first bye-election and is confronted with two more electoral contests that may also end disastrously unless I. L. P. men are nominated. Wheatley's old constituency will be a serious battle ground as indeed will the other divisions when vacancies occur. The government has made itself unpopular by enclosing commons in Hereford and planting larch for airplanes against the

wishes of the local residents who always enjoyed the benefit of the common lands. That a pacifist administration should use the lands for war purposes is one of the things they can not understand. So the people are resisting MacDonald's agents and tearing down the fences built by the government.

Foreign trade for April was seventy million dollars lower than a year ago. Textiles alone being almost thirty million dollars behind. Unemployment is approaching the two million mark. I. L. P. members of parliament are in revolt because of the unemployment situation. 23 voted against the government's war appropriations. This led to their being called to Downing St., and threatened with expulsion which did not scare them as they are sure of their districts. All in all the most charitable view to take

(Continued on page 28)

MACDONALD'S ENDURANCE FLIGHT



Glasgow Eve. News

The voyage grows stormier from day to day.

any good, and Afghanistan is profiting by British troubles in India. The new ruler is consolidating his forces and is introducing the progressive measures that Ammanullah so valiantly tried and failed to put into practice. The Afghans have peace for the nonce and should India continue in a ferment their country will have orderly prosperity and a sample of democratic government well established.

In Britain the domestic troubles of MacDonald appear to be on the point of causing his downfall. Mosely, the aristocrat, showed his sincerity by resigning from office and going over to the Left when the cabinet failed to attack seriously the unemployed problem. Mosely is one of the few men who came from the old parties to labor who actually made a sacrifice. He is the one man who tackled the mighty power of the Bank of England and



"Say It With Books"



Victim of Permanent Revolution

My Life, by Leon Trotsky; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, \$5.00.

ONE reading the gripping series of adventures which constitutes the story of Trotsky's life can readily understand the reasons why the author, regardless of his contribution to the success of the Russian Revolution, is at present cooling his heels in Prinkipo. As an international revolutionary Trotsky could not confine his vision to the smaller horizon bounding his country's reconstruction needs but kept on dreaming and planning about Russia as the spearhead of world revolution. Given a specific job, like organizing the Red Army, saving the railroads from complete breakdown or defending Leningrad from the onslaughts of the White Guards, he could throw himself into the task with an enthusiasm that soon permeated those around him with a spirit of victory leading to success, no matter how formidable the obstacles. But these were temporary digressions from his one great love and devotion, the world revolution. No one need be surprised that after Russia caught a breathing spell from war, revolution, counter-revolution and famine and started to marshal her resources to build up its internal economic order; when it began to organize for production and industrialization, Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution should become somewhat boring, a situation of which the author bitterly complains.

Strange as it may appear, and another reason for Trotsky's eventual downfall, was his utter lack of political acumen or desire to follow the methods of politicians. The usual weaknesses of men which a politician's first task is to understand and, secondly, to utilize, were not only of no concern to him but disgusted him with their trivialities, holding himself aloof from the social life of his compatriots and thereby widening the gap between himself and those in power. In his own way there is no doubt that Trotsky was far and above in mental equipment and energetic application most of the present Russian rulers. As a theoretician he is without peer. But

that seems to have been precisely his trouble. In the midst of reconstruction, when the whole country was bent upon creating more shoes, clothes, bread and neckties, he was still primarily interested in theoretical abstractions regarding the validity of his "permanent revolution."

But regardless of Trotsky's present fate and the reasons thereof his book is an absorbing recital of an extraordinary life.

His description of his early years on a farm shows no inkling of the exciting chapters that follow later on. The real Trotsky emerges when he first joins the revolutionary movement and from then on he writes with a sparkle and dash that reflect the joy and zest that was his as a revolutionary. No novel or book of fictitious adventure can hold the reader more spellbound than this chronicle of one man's experiences.

At the age of sixteen Trotsky was already attracted to the revolutionary activities of his time. Within a few years after that his natural sense of coordination brought him logically to the center of events. He was prolific with his pen from the very start, issuing circulars, proclamations and pamphlets on revolutionary theoretical procedure in enormous quantities. He describes a scene of these early years:

"Later on, we transferred the printing press to the apartment of a middle-aged worker who had lost his sight through an accident in one of the shops. He placed his apartment at our disposal unhesitatingly. He would say with a low laugh, 'Everywhere is prison for a blind man.' Gradually we got together at his place a large supply of glycerine, gelatine and paper. We worked at night. The slovenly room with a ceiling that came low over our heads, had a poverty-stricken look about it. We cooked our revolutionary brew on his iron stove, pouring it on a tin sheet. As he helped us the blind man moved about the half-dark room with more assurance than we did. Two of the workers, a young boy and girl, would watch reverently as I

pulled the freshly printed sheets off the hectograph, and then would exchange glances. If it had been possible for any one to look at all this with a 'sober' eye, at this group of young people scurrying about in the half-darkness around a miserable hectograph, what a sorry, fantastic thing it would have seemed to imagine that they could, in this way, overthrow a mighty state that was centuries old! And yet this sorry fantasy became a reality within a single generation; and only eight years separated those nights from 1905, and not quite twenty from 1917."

Naturally Trotsky thinks very little of the Socialist movements throughout the world. He flays the social democracy of Germany equally with that of the Labor Party of great Britain and of the Socialist group of France. But his greatest sarcasm is reserved for the American Socialist Movement. Trotsky, exiled from Russia and made unwelcome in every other country in Europe, was shipped to the United States where he remained a month until the first Russian revolution broke out. Nevertheless, in that short period he confidently judges the American Socialists in these words:

"In the United States there is a large class of successful and semi-successful doctors, lawyers, dentists, engineers and the like who divide their precious hours of rest between concerts by European celebrities and the American Socialist Party. . . . A Babbitt of Babbitts is Hillquit, the ideal Socialist leader for successful dentists. . . ."

The book is replete with dramatic incidents which one can imagine was a part of the ordinary routine of the hectic days following the November Revolution. To an American reader, however, accustomed to find the sun rising over the same rooftop every morning, these incidents are thrilling events not soon to be forgotten.

Describing the scenes attendant upon the defence of Leningrad against the advancing army under General Yudenitch, Trotsky pictures the fight before the very gates of the city.

"When the retreating lines (reds) came up against the division headquarters at Alexandrovka, I mounted the first horse I could lay my hands on and turned the lines back. For the first few minutes, there was nothing but confusion. Not all of them understood what was happening, and some of them continued to retreat. But I chased one soldier after another, on horseback and made them all turn back. . . . The men were now advancing at the pace at which they had been retreating before. Not one of them remained behind. After two versts, the bullets began their sweetish, nauseating whistling, and the first wounded began to drop. The regimental commander (Trotsky modestly uses here the third person) changed beyond recognition. He appeared at the most dangerous points, and before the regiment had recovered the positions it had previously abandoned he was wounded in both legs. I returned to the staff headquarters on a truck. On the way we picked up the wounded. The impetus had been given, and with my whole being I felt that we would save Petrograd."

For a clear understanding of the differences between the various revolutionary factions that held the spotlight before and after the events of 1917, Trotsky's story of his life is of great value. It is as good history as it is literature and in spite of the reputation the author has achieved, whether deserved or otherwise, for self exploitation, his story is surprisingly modest in its tale and maintains a welcome objectivity, at least through part of the narrative. It is a book that can be enjoyed as much under a tree at camp as by the fireside of a winter's evening.

ISRAEL MUFSON.

AMERICAN LABOR TODAY

The American Labor Year Book, 1930.
Edited by Nathan Fine. Rand School
of Social Science, New York. \$3.00.

IF you want to have an account of the American Labor Movement as the live, throbbing thing it is despite all its faults, the best place to go to at present is not the numerous college text-books that are on the market but the "American Labor Year Book." Purchase all of the eleven volumes that have appeared since it started publication in 1916—the back numbers may be secured at reduced rates—and you will have at your immediate disposal a record of the movement in all its aspects, as it appears to those who participate in it. The "American Labor Year Book" as a work of reference may lack the color of such a volume as "American Labor Dynamics"

edited by J. B. S. Hardman, which is the only other book in the field that treats American labor realistically, but it does not make dry reading. Its discussion of the economic, political and auxiliary features of the movement in this country catches some of the vitality of the living phenomena it is describing. As if the American scene were not enough, the "American Labor Year Book" spends a goodly amount of space on foreign labor. It is a recognition by the publishers that the American working man cannot be studied as an isolated specimen. His interests are bound up with those of the workers of the world.

Special interest attaches to the 1930 volume of the "Year Book," because it is the first brought out by Nathan Fine, formerly associate editor, and author of "Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828-1928." The preceding editor was Solon De Leon, a Communist, who, of course, saw to it that the Communist and allied organizations were adequately covered from year to year. It is to the credit of Fine, who is a Socialist, that the Communist movement is still given its share of attention. The new editor has made very little change in the structure of the "Year Book." There is less space than formerly devoted to general industrial and social conditions and the pages thus saved are distributed around with particular gains for the sections on the trade unions and the international and foreign labor movements. This departure may be temporary, however, since the various volumes of the "Year Book" must be considered as a whole and the volume for 1929 and especially that for 1928 (devoted to political issues) give us long accounts of general economic, political and social conditions. The two chapters, incidentally, on international relations and labor abroad, written by the encyclopedic Harry T. Smith (except for the section on Great Britain prepared by Mark Starr, a regular contributor to "Labor Age"), are among the best portions of the book.

The present writer finds but one important fault with the 1930 "Year Book." In the second chapter (page 57) the trade union world is divided into three main divisions: (1) the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies, (2) the independent trade unions, and (3) the independent general organizations. Under the last the following are listed: (1) the Industrial Workers of the World, (2) the Trade Union Unity League, (3) the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, and (4) the Industrial Union League. The last classification, if it is not inaccurate, is at least seriously misleading. The C. P. L. A., as

readers of "Labor Age" know well enough, is not in the same class as the I. W. W. or the T. U. U. L. Neither is the Industrial Union League. The Industrial Workers of the World and the Trade Union Unity League are trade union organizations. They endeavor to organize the workers industrially. The Conference for Progressive Labor Action and the Industrial Union League, an off-shoot of the Socialist Labor Party, are merely educational or propaganda bodies. They try to organize wage-earners and their sympathizers on the basis of general labor policies. The Trade Union Educational League before it became the T. U. U. L. was of this character. It is regrettable that the otherwise excellent 1930 edition of the "American Labor Year Book" should be marred by this one significant flaw.

LOUIS STANLEY.

MONTH'S BEST JOKE

Peter J. Brady, president of the Federation Bank and Trust Co., one of the principal speakers at a testimonial dinner to James C. Shanessy, president of the Journeymen Barbers International Union at the Hotel New Yorker, New York's newest and biggest hotel, price per plate, \$7.50, lectured the honor guest on what he should tell the British Trade Union Congress when he appears before them as a fraternal delegate from the A. F. of L.

According to the Federated Press, Brady warned Shanessy, "They have their own notions over there on cure-alls for the world's ills. Your patience will be tried with their quack nostrums. But you tell them that here in America, under the Stars and Stripes, we have accomplished more real and solid results for the workers than all the Socialism in Europe."

"While they have had their eyes glued on panaceas, they have slipped up on the one big contribution the American Labor Movement has made. That is, in making our money work for us, through our own labor banks." Brady then described the success of his Federation bank which has paid \$500,000 in dividends to stockholders, and advised Shanessy to tell the European labor conventions that "they will get further in following American ideas than we will in following theirs."

A ROBBER TARIFF

(Continued from page 17)

the light of the fact that the United States has the least satisfactory labor legislation of all the important industrial nations of the world.

In summary then, the tariff for protection affects labor by raising the prices of protected products and thus the cost of living; by making it possible thereby for certain industries, at the expense of others which have the natural advantages, to pay wages as high as other domestic industries are already paying; and by strengthening the bargaining power of employers through increased profits. It conceivably could be, though it rarely if ever has been, used for the benefit of labor. But if such benefit is needed, it can be obtained by other means which would give the benefit more directly and therefore more surely to those it is intended to benefit and which would impose a known cost on those who ought to bear it.

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IN OTHER LANDS

(Continued from Page 25)

of the British situation at home and abroad in so far as it concerns Ramsay MacDonald is that he and his colleagues are paying the penalty of a minority government—of a party being in office but without power of majority in parliament. He may have reasons to regret that he ever opposed the resolution not to accept office unless accompanied by a complete majority in the House of Commons which was proposed by the Left at the Liverpool conference.

FRANCE AND ITALY

France has prosperity and Italy has not. France has no surplus people—Italy has. France has rich colonies while Italy has poor ones. Both are Mediterranean powers. Hence, rivalry and Mussolini's warlike speeches. American observers returning from Europe say nationalism and imperialism are as vital as ever and we can look for another war soon. No doubt, had Italy coal and iron deposits, it would contest with Britain and France for the lordship of the Mediterranean. As it is poor in mineral wealth I suspect Mussolini, who is a realist, will confine his war plans to talk. Still this talk like other things in other countries may set loose forces not under his control and a conflagration might follow. It would have only one result—the end of the dictatorship in Italy. Italian nationalists are plotting in

Malta and have the church lined up with them against the English. This also is another knotty problem for MacDonald whose country seized Malta 120 years ago and promised to restore it, but like getting out of Egypt forgot the promise. France is having some troubles in her Eastern colonies and is shooting and deporting the rebels. So, too, is Holland, but the latter is not attracting attention.

GERMANY

A large unemployed list is making some trouble for the administration but it is not as serious as in other lands. Germany is hard set to explain her huge military expenditures, almost pre-war. The Polish frontier is not settled yet. German propagandists are busy there. In the Tyrol the Fascists eased up on their persecution of the German speaking Tyrolese. Austria is trying hard to unite with Germany and the movement in both countries for it is vigorous. If it were not for the French, Austria would have united with the Reich long ago. European complications may hasten it sooner than people think.

RUSSIA

New railroads and new factories coupled with increased tillage are bringing the Soviet to the front economically. If the five year plan will be only half as successful as its advocates say it will be capitalist nations will be forced to readjust their forms and ownership of production, sale and distribution into state control. Otherwise Russian competition will drive them from the markets. The new Red menace being an economic one will be harder to fight and in consequence the outside nations have every reason to fear the new policy of the Soviet.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.

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